

W. F. Buckley Jr. on
Discrimination in Reverse
—SEE PAGE 40

NATIONAL REVIEW

W. H. von Dreele's
Advice to Nixon on:

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Dead End in American Education Roger Freeman
Is Nixon Bound by Kennedy's Cuban Pledge? C. Dickerman Williams



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WHY DO THEY HATE THE SOUTH?

THE SOUTH WAS BIG in the news last year. Alabama's George Wallace socked it to them — Democrats and Republicans alike — driving the Liberal "pseudo-intellectuals" (and also many conservatives) to simultaneous emotions of fear, anger and consternation. Nixon courted the South too, with Strom Thurmond waving his banners below the Mason-Dixon line and Spiro Agnew his choice for running mate. Only the Democrat candidate shunned the South — as if to say, "When you've seen one Southerner, you've seen them all." And through it all: a barrage of Liberal sneers, innuendoes and invective aimed not so much at the Southerners in the news or even their ideas as at their very Southernness.

Why? Why do they hate the South? Does George Wallace represent the South? Or the New Breed of Southern Republicans? Or the new Negro voters in the South? Indeed, do *any* of them, alone, represent the South and its traditions? Just what is the Southern tradition?

Few persons could answer the last question better than Richard M. Weaver. When he died in 1963, after nearly two decades of teaching at the University of Chicago, Weaver had earned the respect of philosophical friends and foes alike. He stood tall as one of the great conservative thinkers of our time. Among his personal papers at the time of his death was this manuscript, completed in 1943 at the age of 33. Though it mysteriously remained unpublished and indeed undiscovered until now, it was the watershed in Weaver's intellectual development. As Donald Davidson writes in his important Foreword, *The Southern Tradition At Bay* "marks the turning point of his career — the moment when he renounced the facile radicalism of the Roosevelt period for something more truly radical — the kind of 'radicalism' that the current term 'conservative' does not always suggest"; a radicalism, that is, based on first principles rather than on the intellectual fads of the moment. And, Davidson adds, "*The Southern Tradition At Bay* can be considered a groundwork for *Ideas Have Consequences* and much of Weaver's subsequent work."

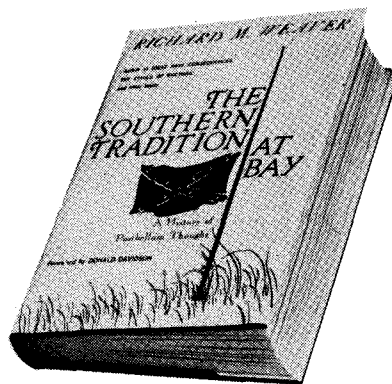
The Southern Tradition At Bay was written, according to the author, after three years of reading "the history and literature of the Civil War, with special attention to that of the losing side."

The Southern Tradition At Bay

A History of Postbellum Thought
by Richard M. Weaver

Foreword by Donald Davidson.
Bibliography; comprehensive index

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But, Davidson notes, it "is in the end about a good deal more than the South or the Southern tradition or the hundred or more writers, speakers, generals, politicians, nurses, diarists whom Weaver examines in his study of the half-century after Appomattox. As in indirect fire by artillery, his 'aiming point' is indeed the South, but the 'target,' just over the hump, is the modern regime, both North and South, that has emerged in the mid-twentieth century and brought the Republic of the United States of America into its time of troubles."

Is the real South dead? Or rising?
As critical as he can be of aspects of the Southern tradition, Weaver concludes that "the world is seeking as perhaps never before for the thing that will lift up our hearts and restore our faith in human communities." To that yearning the South offers a challenge, "and the challenge is to save the human spirit by re-creating a non-materialist society. Only this can rescue us from a future of nihilism, urged on by the demoniacal force of technology and by our own moral defeatism."

We are proud to offer the final work of a great conservative. Gracefully written, searching and provocative, it has a message for our country today — and a relevance Richard Weaver himself could hardly have guessed.

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VOL. XXI NO. 1

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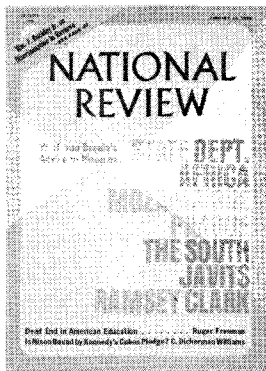
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IN THIS ISSUE

■ **Roger Freeman** ponders whether it isn't the end of the line or the public schools in America. Education! We've thrown money at it, shaken up the teachers, paired the schools, shrunk classes, stretched school hours and experimented with every form of remedial, compensatory, and new, fortified, vitamin-enriched superthrust at the pre-school level, with results that are, as they say, "negligible." Mr. Freeman, an economist with the Hoover Institution who majors in financing public education, has been aiming blows at the environmentalists who run our schools for almost as long as they've been collecting public funds for their projects. . . . Then there is the case of Dr. Carl F. Hansen, who desegregated District of Columbia schools (applause), at the same time taking cognizance (jeers) of the needs of below-standard pupils. What happened to Dr. Hansen's career may be an object lesson, as he himself suggests in his book about it. **Victor Gold**, who heads a Washington public relations firm, reviews it here. . . . You've asked yourself, have you, whether President Nixon is legally bound by President Kennedy's hands-off-Cuba pledge to Khrushchev? **C. Dickerman Williams**, attorney and TV luminary, has made a close study of the case.



James Burnham files his column from Brussels, whence he will be reporting in the next few weeks. . . . The new year brings an abundance of **Russell Kirk**, who is publishing all over—in the *Critic*, *Social Research*, the *National Catholic Reporter*, the *Kenyon Review* and *Triumph*, among others—and whose *Enemies of the Permanent Things: Observations of Abnormalities* (Abnormality) in Literature and Politics is due from Arlington House in the spring. All this in addition to a syndicated column and From the Academy for NR. . . . The ever-resourceful **Nika Standen Hazelton** has ways of letting you down gently after the holidays. . . . **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** has a go at Ocean Hill-Brownsville (On the Right) and an epistolary exchange with Hugh Kenner (Notes & Asides).

■ **Jeffrey Hart** takes up that enthralling business of what Scott said to Papa, and vice versa. . . . What Che said to the *cheistos* is less than enthralling, to **Roger W. Fontaine**, a Latin American affairs expert. . . . **Ellis Sandoz** exults in the recent work of the great Eric Voegelin, now available in English. . . . Art critic **Ruth Berenson** reports on the dazzling shows in the museums of New York this season.

■ And **W. H. von Dreele** wishes Mr. Nixon a Happy New Year, as do we all of you.

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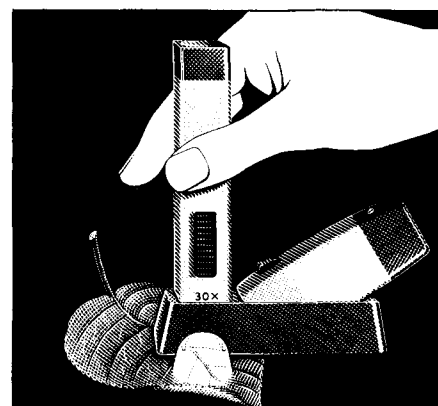
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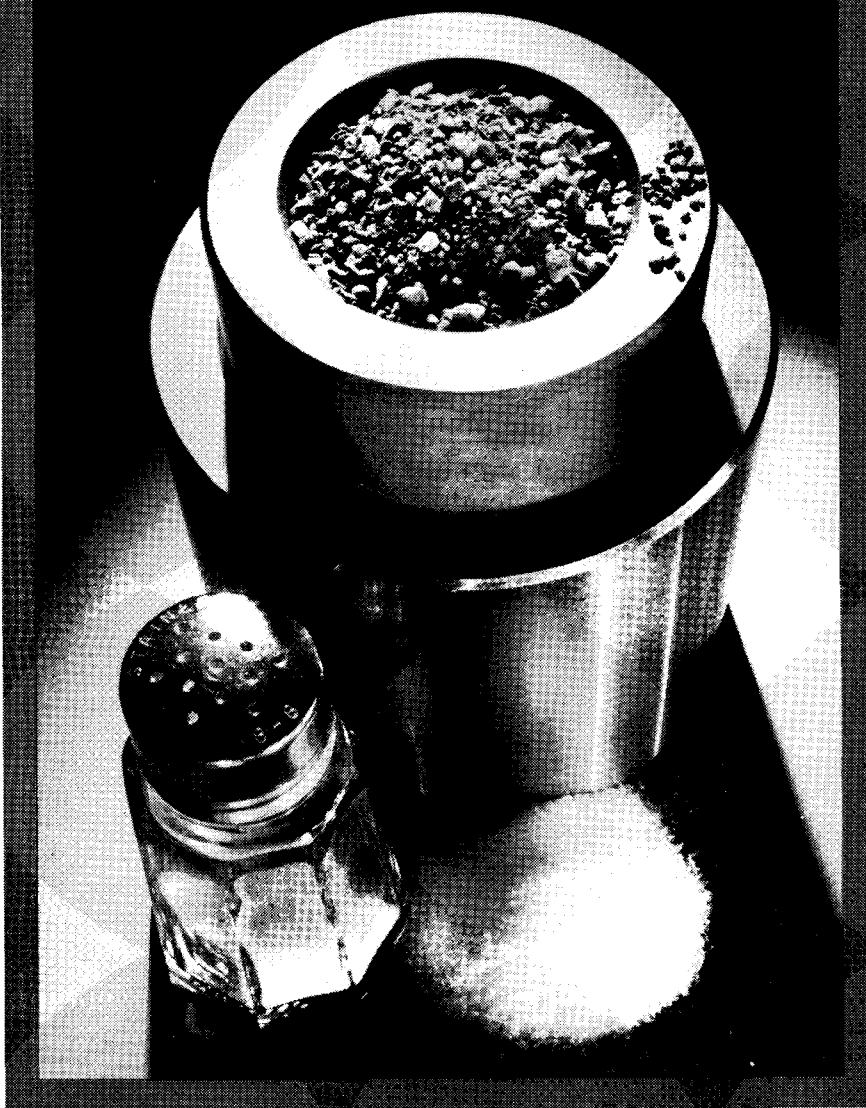
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LETTERS

Women at Yale

Re your comment in The Week, December 17 issue, concerning Yale coeds. We were stimulated to take out our slide rules and compute the male-to-female ratio at our college, Clarkson Tech. Forty girls are presently swallowed up in a sea of 2,341 men. This provides a ratio of 58.7 to one as compared with the prospective ratio of 18.0 to one at Yale. We, too, have our housing problems. We hope that Yale will receive the type of women it deserves, and we fully support them, rah, rah, rah!

NANCY HUTTE

Potsdam, N.Y.

MARY DAY

Burke's Law

The inquiry into the "welfare mess" conducted by Ernest van den Haag [NR, Nov 19, Dec. 17] is good. I believe, nonetheless, we should call attention repeatedly to what I consider to be one of the fundamental necessities for restraint in power-assumption by any governmental unit. The idea was enunciated by Burke, who said in effect that those who are charged with the duty of finding deficiencies or other disturbances in government should not be chosen to correct the situations.

The lesson here is clear: empires are built by those who are specialists both in finding trouble and in prescribing the remedies for that trouble. The one feeds the other and each is enhanced by the other's over-nourished body of details.

St. Petersburg, Fla. ROBERT J. NEEDLES M.

Repealing the Fifth

The attitudes and suggestions of Mr. Dewey and Judge Friendly respecting the "Fifth" are comforting indeed ["Pandora's Fifth," NR Dec. 17] but NATIONAL REVIEW should not hide its and my lights under a bushel. You will find that everything said by either of those two eminent men merely echoes what NATIONAL REVIEW has already published in my article in its issue of April 19, 1966. Including even the Cardozo quote.

Los Altos, Cal.

PARK CHAMBERLAIN

Brownsville and After

In your editorial, "Teacher, May We Please Ask a Question—And Not in Swahili?" [Dec. 3], you say, "Indeed, the strike was dragged out until the union got a court decision that the three Ocean Hill-Brownsville principals were hired illegally, because though they had full state certification, their names were not on the City civil service list." Please be advised that the Council of Supervisory Associations brought the proceedings and was the party

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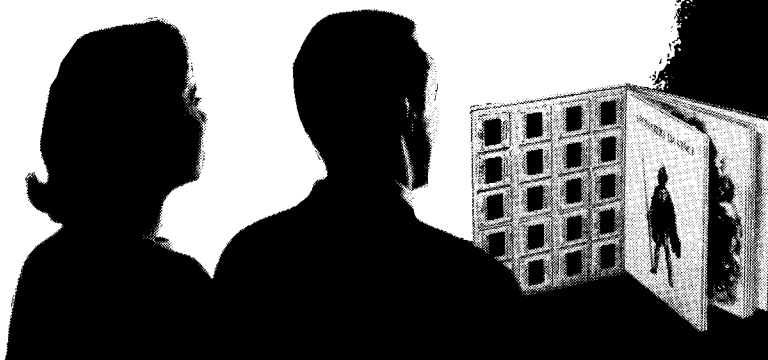
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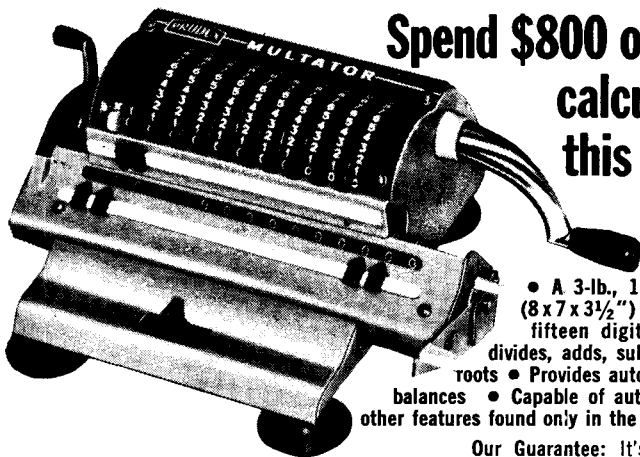
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that initiated the action in Supreme Court, Brooklyn. The United Federation of Teachers filed an *amicus curiae* brief after the action was begun by the Council of Supervisory Associations.

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THOMAS M. MULRY

Field Director

Council of Supervisory

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The present drive by Negroes to win control of the schools in those sections where Negroes predominate cannot be evaluated apart from the social context in which it is occurring. The proposition that local residents should impose separate standards on neighborhood schools is an assertion by the autonomists that they reject national standards, that they will not (or cannot) adjust to the set of values held by the majority element in this country. They are saying in effect that they are an enclave in the American milieu and must be subject hereafter to different laws and customs.

The question is therefore whether the dissenters can be made a part of the national norm or whether we must resign ourselves to the development of two opposed societies in the same space. Those who imagine that the divergence will not broaden to total incompatibility once official sanction has been lent to the demands for separatism are refusing to draw the lesson from the violence already present in our colleges and secondary schools. Let us not again a century later set the stage for another irrepressible conflict, for the proverb about a house divided against itself remains as valid as in Lincoln's time.

Los Angeles, Cal.

EUGENE S. COOPE

Rich Randians v. Poor Capitalists

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So much for my two cents worth; which is worth two cents more than your asinine attack on Mrs. O'Conner [Ayn Rand].

Fort Wayne, Ind. DAVID HAMILTON JONE

If someone wrote about Goldwater in the way William F. Buckley wrote about Ayn Rand [NR, Dec. 17] I could just hear you run around screaming, "Smear Tactic, Smear Tactic, It Must Have Been a Liberal!"

Columbus, Neb.

DAVE EILERS

Sounding Off

For some time you have editorially indicated support for the abolition of the draft and the creation of an all-volunteer Armed Forces. Richard Nixon also takes this position. Despite my usual enthusiastic approval of NATIONAL REVIEW and Dick Nixon, I believe that there is a funda-

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mental flaw in this position, which, as far as I'm concerned, makes it untenable.

Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupé recently made the point that Rome's fall was assured when her middle class was destroyed. This was reflected in the army, too: when Rome had a citizen army, it was strong; when the citizens were replaced by mercenaries, it was weak.

Such is the picture with respect to our own Armed Forces, I fear. As long as the bulk of our army is composed of citizen-soldiers, then our populace will have a personal, direct stake in war—and will know the sacrifices to be made and weigh them accordingly. A volunteer force will quickly take on a mercenary appearance, cut off from the U.S. public—possibly even becoming a "military elite," and, for the first time in history, a potential internal threat to our system of government.

Personally, I found the experience of serving in the Armed Forces useful as a taste of living in a totalitarian society. All too few people realize the inevitable outcome of the unchecked growth of our government and this experience, however brief, will awaken some.

Broomall, Pa.

ROGER F. JONES

I wonder if NR caught that lovely little analysis of the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, tossed off on the tube drama, *Name of the Game*, Nov. 29. "So they couldn't allow even little Czechoslovakia to liberalize," growls the crusading (i.e., liberal) magazine publisher, viewing the Russian invasion. Then, turning to his secretary—"Just remember this," he mutters: "There's a right wing everywhere—even in Russia."

But isn't it comforting to know that the Soviet invasion was just another nasty right-wing plot? Sort of puts everything back in perspective, doesn't it?

Hanford, Cal.

VERNON HODGES

Thank you for your articles and editorials on Greece. I lived for two and a half years in Greece, a hundred miles from Athens in a small village on the island of Euboea, and I left with a deep affection for the land and the greatest respect for the people. . . . At a party recently I was talking to a liberal intellectual and chanced to remark that I hoped to return to Greece this year for a visit. When this gentleman found that I have lived there he said, "Oh, you must be greatly distressed at the political plight of the people." To which I replied, "Why?" and I got a long lament that the birthplace of democracy should now be ruled by a military junta. To him democracy is the only good kind of government; all others are bad. . . .

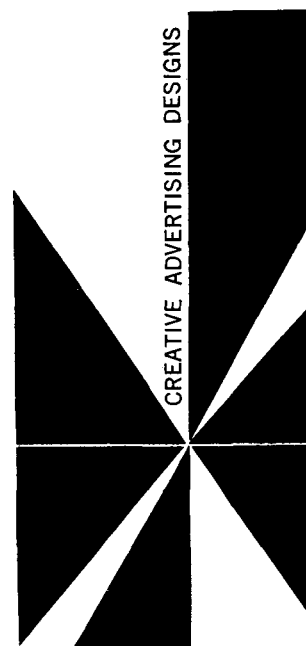
I reviewed [Greece's] past history and reminded him that we Americans had not suffered a German invasion nor a Communist war on home ground. Neither had we known what it was to have our children taken by the Communists and never

returned as did friends of mine in the village where we lived. Freedom, I reminded him, was more than an abstraction: it also went with the prepositions *to* and *from*.

Ever since C. S. Lewis died before could screw up courage to write and thank him for his Christian apologetics, I have promised myself that I would be generous in thanking those who had courageously taken on a thankless job.

Pennington, N.J.

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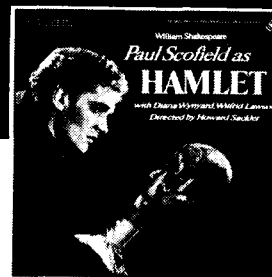
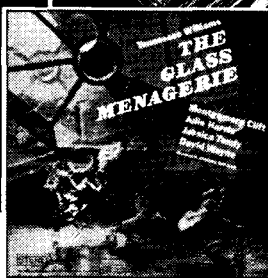
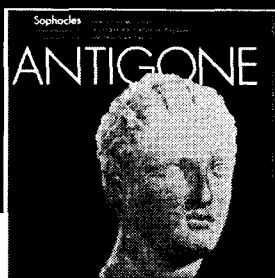
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THE WEEK

■ Mrs. Madalyn Murray O'Hair (who started the ball rolling for the Supreme Court ban on prayer in public schools) is upset with the Apollo 8 crew for reading verses from Genesis while looping the moon on taxpayer money. She argues that Christianity is a minority religion. She's nuts. 1) Genesis belongs not only to Christians but also to Jews and Moslems. 2) Among American taxpayers, it is the likes of Mrs. Murray who are the minority. 3) In the world at large (see 1968 *World Almanac*) Christians, Jews, and Moslems number 2,431,000,000—which makes Genesis top dog even without an electoral college.

■ Mr. Johnson's Presidential Committee on Price Stability has come up with a proposal that businessmen voluntarily limit their profit margins. Will the knee-jerk populists never learn? We repeat the lesson: 1) Inflation is created by monetary authorities in Washington and no one else. 2) Profits are not a "cost" exacted by merchant dictators but a payment for entrepreneurial services. 3) Capital can be efficiently invested only when the rate of return ("profit") is freely determined by market forces. 4) Capital inefficiently invested contributes to the same problems inflation contributes to: distorted prices, falling exports, stagnation. The report of the Presidential Committee should be burned.

■ A federal committee on the coinage has recommended that the Mint stop using silver in the Kennedy half-dollar (it currently is 40 per cent silver). The Congress will probably act on the recommendation this year. The price of silver would have to rise very steeply before it becomes profitable to hoard and melt the current Kennedy half. But it will be hoarded anyway, because of the Kennedy image, and because of its numismatic uniqueness: it is the last silver coinage of the U.S.

■ Concerned as they are for the happiness and well-being of the incoming Nixon Administration, columnists Evans and Novak are very much alarmed by the presence of Richard V. Allen as a foreign policy adviser in the White House. Most people think of Allen as a well-informed scholar who is a member of Stanford University's Hoover Institution. To Evans and Novak he is a Neanderthal menace, a member of the "sandbox right." Allen's shortcomings: 1) He is a hard-line anti-Communist who "never transcends tired cold war rhetoric." When last did the cold war transcend cold war rhetoric? 2) He has actually belonged to such pariah organizations as Young Americans for Freedom. 3) An essay of his on foreign policy won recognition in a contest sponsored by the conservative

American Security Council. 4) He has ventured to address the Philadelphia Society. The effort of the intellectual-communications complex to affect the internal character of the Nixon Administration is moving into high gear.

■ From Oakland-Berkeley to Ocean Hill-Brownsville the academic institutions have been in riot this semester, but there is a distinction between them and the places of learning and all was calm as usual at the places of learning. It is reported that the Juilliard School of Music has never witnessed a protest among its students except when, each decade or so, the youngsters appeal for more work to do. At serious places such as schools of medicine and law, engineering schools, even schools of business, the serious work of transmitting a body of knowledge goes quietly on.

■ The intellectual ferment behind the Iron Curtain has been thoroughly reported in the Western press, though the terminology has been unfortunate: the Stalinist repressors are the "conservatives" and the restless experimentalists seeking freedom of inquiry are "liberals." With one notable exception. Late in December three Soviet citizens were arrested for possessing, reading and distributing anti-Soviet literature, including Barr Goldwater's bestseller, *The Conscience of a Conservative*. No "liberals" this time in the Associated Press dispatch, but only "intellectuals." Stick around. It's getting to be fun.

■ A petition signed by 220 American writers, members of the Authors Guild, has been sent to President Johnson and to President-elect Nixon, urging the "vigorous prosecution of the Vietnam war to an honorable conclusion." The petition was sent out by William F. Buckley Jr. and Frank S. Meyer to members of the Guild, in answer to an earlier petition circulated by Alexander L. Crosby, strongly opposing the Vietnam war. The Council of the Guild, which had refused to take any official position on the war, authorized the two mailings to the general membership, stipulating that the mailings would carry no implication of official Guild sponsorship but would rather reflect the opinions of individual Guild members. Among those signing the petition in support of the war are: Po Anderson, Max Ascoli, Donald Barr, William E. Barrett, Niven Busch, Joseph Campbell, John Dos Passos, Allen Drury, Robert S. Elegant, Morris L. Ernst, T. I. Fehrenbach, Bruno Fischer, Charles Bracelen Flood, Corey Ford, Robert A. Heinlein, Eugene Lyons, Robert D. Murphy, Frederic Nelson, Elliott Nugent, Stefan T. Possony, Francis Russell, Winthrop Sargeant, John Scott, Flora Rheta Schreiber, George S. Schuyler, Robert Thomas, Cornelius Vanderbilt Jr., Hillary B. Waugh, Richard J. Whalen.

■ Archibald MacLeish, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric at Harvard, and former Poet Laureate to the New Deal, has, in the course of a long career, produced poor imi-

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City _____ State _____ Zip _____

tations of most of the twentieth century's best poets. He has been, variously, the summer-stock Eliot, the summer-stock Yeats, the summer-stock Auden. On Christmas Day he favored us with a sort of prose-poem (summer-stock Norman Corwin) in which he revealed the Deep Meaning of the Apollo moon flight. God died some time ago, MacLeish announces, and the Christian drama is "preposterous." The perplexities of the modern skeptic and existentialist are nonsense, too—for, brace yourself for the blinding revelation, All Men Are Brothers! Too bad he didn't use that line in *JB*. It would have improved the play.

■ SNCC, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is as gone as Lucky Strike Green. Cause of death: sheer exhaustion after eight years of twisting, turning and running to keep up with the civil rights-black power-Negro liberation movement—a course that took it from peaceful activism in the rural South by Northern middle-class students of both races, through post-Watts, ghetto-oriented black power programs (no white help wanted) to the final phase: dark talk of guns and blood, spiced with Streicher-style antisemitism. Now Stokely Carmichael (once SNCC's maximum leader) has gone over to the revolution-dreaming Black Panthers, who are picking up where SNCC left off. And who, Stokely or no Stokely, probably won't get far because they are community-oriented and must therefore compete with other community groups, non-paranoid ones that concentrate on black power and black achievement in schools, business and neighborhood improvement.

■ Over the objection of Robert Brustein, dean of Yale University's famed Drama School, six of the seven black students in the school forced the cancellation of a play which depicted the Militants as essentially incompetent and dependent upon whites. Among the grievances of the students: no black teachers, no black directors, no black plays by black authors. Well, now at least they have a black-list.

■ Our man in Schenectady informs us of a new group, the National Young Republicans and Democrats, which has the approval of Nelson Rockefeller (a medium-aged R & D) and Cleveland Amory. The NYRD headquarters is in Sacramento and the newly announced New York state chairman is Mr. Allen F. Long, formerly a regional coordinator for Senator Eugene McCarthy's campaign last year and then state trouble-shooter for the late Senator Robert Kennedy. Mr. Long promises not to rest with mere research but to make NYRD "a viable action organization." Ho, ho, ho, we see you, Nelson!

■ The *Boston Herald-Traveler* has reported (Nov. 20) that a group of teen-agers in Lowell, Massachusetts have started a vigorous campaign against the purveyors of pornography in their city. But, says Captain Kelleher

of the Lowell police, officers are having trouble getting prosecutions—because of U.S. Supreme Court rulings.

■ Mr. Julian Bond, the Georgia legislator, told a Notre Dame audience last month: "I am no more in favor of black capitalism than I am of white capitalism. It just turns white exploitation into black exploitation." Mr. Bond's booking agency in Boston reports that he charges \$1,500 per lecture.

■ The President-elect has stressed his determination to see that his Administration gives the public fuller, quicker and more accurate information about what the Government is up to. As an early step in this direction he plans to order a big decrease in the number of public relations and press-information officials on the government payroll.

■ If the Cabinet are all to be administrators, will the President be an admaxistrator?

■ The New York Civil Liberties Union has sent a fundraising letter to "Fellow New Yorkers" the first sentences of which go: "The campaign for 'Law and Order' is gathering impetus. To meet it head-on, join the Civil Liberties Union now."

Exploring

When the wood stork goes to southwest Florida to nest in December, it goes at the height of the dry season, when the water in the cypress forests has receded into shallow pools, and by chance the fish are easy prey for these huge and hungry birds. By chance?

The eighteenth century discovered that very little actually comes about in nature as the result of chance, but the *philosophes* mistakenly concluded that the only intelligible dimension in the universe is rationality. Twentieth century physics is less inclined to lay claim to the universe as the domain of pure reason. Scientific method has shown a baffling tendency to come up against problems that seem unapproachable by scientific method.

To float around the moon and recite a few verses from Genesis was a dramatic way to express this paradox. The more we understand, the more we are given to wonder at our little understanding. When three adventurous savants demonstrate that Newtonian physics applies to their whirl around the moon, they also prove that there is an invisible system of communication between the human intellect and the order of Creation.

The rationalist will respond: But we have only begun! We only named the chemical elements last year, invented radio last week, fired rockets yesterday. Give us a little time, and we will show that the universe is not only intelligible but entirely comprehensible in the absence of your supernatural "explanations."

But to say that is to say that the fish occur in shallow water beneath the nesting wood stork—by chance. It is true that the great explorations are just beginning, and that is why we are confident that the rationalist fervor will subside. The book of Genesis will be the most satisfactory song to sing on Mars. Then Alpha Centauri, the galaxy, and away! And the more we explore, the more we discover that the universe is not a random sample but an achievement in its own right.

Perhaps when we hear the verses of Genesis from the spiral nebula in Andromeda the original Achiever Himself will cut in and say: Hello, you're singing My song.

Israeli Overkill?

In retaliation for the attack in Athens upon an El Al airliner by Arab commandos, helicopter-borne Israeli commandos took over the Beirut airport and destroyed thirteen Lebanese airliners. This attack, among other things, casts the gravest sort of doubt upon the strategic wisdom of the Israeli leadership. The retaliation, in a ratio of thirteen to one, was wildly excessive. More important still, the attack was launched against a nation which, along with Jordan, has used its influence in the Arab world on the side of moderation. The fact that Israeli attacks have indeed so often been against the *moderate* Arab countries more than suggests an intention to polarize and exacerbate the conflict, an intention which would be inconceivable if the Israeli leadership did not believe it could count, when the chips were down, upon full U.S. military support.

Yet to raise the question of the character of the American commitment to Israel in the context of the American national interest is to release the furies of

American domestic pressure—as the tortuous course so far pursued by Richard Nixon abundantly illustrates. During the Presidential campaign, in his B'nai B'rith speech, Nixon went beyond LBJ by promising to “tip the balance” of military power in Israel’s favor. This is the kind of thing done for the sake of Jewish votes (the sort of bid, ironically, which led to the assassination of RFK), which has become conventional. It was also a calculated attempt to defuse the hostility of the media. The election over—and the Jewish votes, by the way, largely unwon—an attempt at revision was put in motion. Upon returning from his tour of the Middle East, William Scranton tried to back off from the “tip the balance” commitment. Nixon’s Administration, he said, should pursue a more “even-handed” policy. Up, immediately, went all the domestic storm signals, forcing Nixon to abandon his position that he would see no foreign leaders before the inauguration. He has granted a highly publicized and symbolic interview to the hard-lining Moshe Dayan.

What We Need is a Law...

During 1968, garbage collectors, delivery men, garage attendants, telephone workers, teachers, police, firemen, teachers, subway maintenance men, hospital workers, teachers, railroad trainmen, railroad engineers, electrical workers and fuel suppliers stopped or slowed down their service to New York City. It is the first instinct for such beleaguered citizens as ourselves to corral all these strikes and near-strikes together into a lump disaster, the just price extorted from fools who place above all other considerations their perverse desire to live near Arthur Schlesinger, Joe Namath, U Thant and the world’s only traffic fresco, irrevocably fixed into the asphalt of the city’s streets.

But part of the year’s price was unjust, and some of the disaster preventable, there being laws on the books which say that most of the strikes that have plagued New York shall not have happened. What strikes are now illegal are strikes against government, and there are very good reasons, apart from the protection of the convenience of the individual citizen, for prohibiting such strikes. Jurists, politicians, and even labor leaders have long recognized that the public employee’s bargaining position is not the same as that of his counterpart in private industry. In private industry collective bargaining is the attempt by labor to win a greater share of corporate profits, but the government does not generate profit, and therefore demands by government workers threaten not the company strongbox but funds far removed from the bargaining table, in the pocket of the unwitting taxpayer. In practical fact, the government, unlike a private corporation, cannot go out of business. If private management is unable to pay the going wage and continue operations, then the business folds. But government must hang on, whatever the cost. And so great is the need for the continuous functioning of government services that shut-



“Registration laws won’t help. Guns will still find their way into the wrong hands.”

downs brought about by strikes cannot be tolerated.

New York's failure to provide its citizens with adequate protection against strikes by public employees can be ascribed in part to New York State's Taylor Law, a weak statute whelped by labor-beholden Democratic legislators. Under its provisions, the maximum penalty for a union that strikes the government is a fine of \$10,000 a day, a sum which, as teachers' union president Albert Shanker has been quick to point out, amounts to twenty cents per teacher per day off the job. The wage gains won by the teachers' union, and by the other public employee unions that have blackmailed the city with their unlawful strikes, far exceed the pistareen penalties. "We are beyond abstract lessons in legality," goes a famous Shanker quotation. "Perhaps it is a bad lesson to be learned, but the city has convinced us that striking brings us gains we cannot get any other way."

Other cities, even towns, are beginning to feel the pinch of similar extortion, but New York is the vanguard, and the New York problem must be solved. The rising tide of successful strikes by public employees is not unlike a sort of creeping alcoholism. Unions in other communities have just begun to taste the delicious grape, but New York unions, nursed by indebted politicians and glutted with recent pay raises won by illegal strikes, are already reeling drunks. And unless the problem is stopped in New York, the news that unions there are continuing to win 10, 15 and 20 per cent raises by striking will whet the thirst of other unions across the country.

The best solution for New York would be new legislation, not only tougher than the Taylor Law but also broad enough to cover private industries regulated by government and essential to the public welfare. Recent strikes on the Long Island Railroad, and at Consolidated Edison, which supplies New York City and its environs with gas and electricity, were redundant evidence that

workers for private monopolies enjoy the same potential for blackmail strikes as employees of the government. Wherever service must be continuous, there must be laws to prevent strikes that would curtail those services. But to enact tougher and broader laws requires the election of politicians courageous enough to write them. Regrettably, the union bankroll at election time is everywhere greater than the nickels and dimes that unorganized private citizens can produce. Labor money and influence are biggest in the big cities, and non-labor money and influence are correspondingly smallest there.

At last month's convocation of liberal intellectuals at Princeton, George Kennan, the former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, gave a despairing speech about America, and high on his list of national problems was "the recurrent disruption in these great cities, not just of individual processes of work, but of the very rhythm of urban life, by strikes on the part of public servants and others, the regularity of whose service is essential to the safety or comfort of the population at large." Labor's grip on New York and other cities makes local solutions virtually impossible. The entire nation is faced, in Mr. Kennan's words, "with the clear need for a basic revision of our concept of labor relations. But has this idea gained currency in our public discussions? Is it sponsored by any responsible public authority or political party? I am not aware that it is."

Richard Nixon, please note.

Barbarians of Virtue

Under a totalitarian system, all aspects of life are politicized. Last week, the New Left activists within the academic community—Sidney Hook calls them the Barbarians of Virtue—moved us one more step in the totalitarian direction by politicalizing their scholarly organization. As Mr. Hook said in a remarkable address to the Modern Language Association convention in New York the goal of scholarship is truth, and "in a rational and humane society there must be some activities and institutions that are beyond politics." But his wise and civilized words were in vain.

The MLA has 28,000 widely scattered members and a minimum of administrative structure. Its annual convention is a sprawling and chaotic affair bringing together hundreds of scholars and graduate students from all over the country. Scholarly papers are read at dozens of meetings and seminars; candidates for academic posts meet prospective employers; publishers exhibit their wares the scholars live it up for a few days in the big city.

This year, the New Left had other goals in mind. For a starter, they had a black senior from the University of Pennsylvania who read a hilarious parody of the Gettysburg Address in the Grand Ballroom: "Four score and quite a few years ago your forefathers brought forth a bastard child, conceived in racism and dedicated to the maintenance of a white society. Now we are approaching

The Sky Is Falling

Mayor Lindsay, Mayor Lindsay,
Something awful's going on.
Garbage men are getting angry;
Firemen feel put upon.
School is out, and it's *November*.
Teachers carry funny signs.
Now the uniformed policemen
Balk at booking parking fines.
Mr. Mayor, rents are rising!
So is statutory rape.
(When I visit friends in Jersey,
It's like plotting an escape.)
As apocalypse approaches,
Promise, sir, you won't revive
"He Is Fresh And They Are Tired"
From the race in '65.

W. H. VON DREELE

a great civil war testing whether that bastard or any other bastard can long endure." This *jeu d'esprit* went over well with the leftist scholars, but more serious business was in the offing. The annual "business meeting" of MLA had always been a routine affair which few people bothered to attend. This year the New Left took it over. About two hundred showed up and rammed through resolutions urging educational institutions to refuse cooperation with the draft and condemning the Vietnam war as "illegal and imperial." They then voted to put Louis Kampf, a far-left activist who only the day before had been arrested in a political scuffle, in line for the presidency of the MLA. What is left for the MLA except perhaps formally to merge with the SDS?

After the Pueblo

There is to be an inquiry into the behavior of the captain and crew of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, and some of the questions will be tough. "What about the physical and mental blunders?" "Why the failure to destroy the precious electronic equipment aboard ship?" Some will touch on disloyalty. America's military Code of Conduct, which each man in uniform pledges to uphold, states, paragraph five, that "*I will make no oral or written statements disloyal to my country,*" and yet this is exactly what Commander Bucher did. The North Korean propagandists were gleeful when Bucher "confessed" to the *Pueblo*'s violation of Korean waters, a violation that, it now seems certain, never occurred. But can this really be called an act of betrayal when another paragraph of the same Code of Conduct reads: "*If I become prisoner of war . . . I will give no information or take part in any action which might be harmful to my comrades*"? Commander Bucher has said that the North Koreans told him, confess or we will kill off your crew one man each day, beginning with the youngest seaman. Bucher dared his captors to kill him first, they scoffed at his courage, repeated their threat, and he signed the prepared confession. Could he have done otherwise? The Code poses the moral dilemma but does not resolve it, no doubt because any choice between comrades and country is a bad one.

Bucher's choice was excruciating, but not so the American government's. President Johnson had a third alternative—retaliation—and yet the President agreed to the same servile confession. Mr. Johnson acted not to save lives but to crown his term of office with what he judged to be a great humanitarian act. In the short run, the American confession may appear to be just that, but submission to blackmail always looks better after the first payment than it does when the blackmailers come back for more and more and more.

For those who look ahead, the initial joy at the release of the 82 men was overshadowed by the shameful conditions of release and the omens they hold for the future. The U.S. has shown itself to be an easy mark, an image that the Nixon Administration, as it continues the investi-

gation into the *Pueblo* catastrophe, must erase immediately. Some changes are obviously called for, first to relieve the burden on the individual soldier who falls into enemy hands. If Commander Bucher acted honorably, and it seems he did, then the American people should be told not to expect their fighting men to divulge only name, rank and service number under extreme duress. Perhaps the Nixon Administration should announce to the world that future prisoners of war have free rein to save lives through blather, that future confessions are to be expected and discounted. Thus protect the honor of brave men who, as the rules now stand, are damned whatever they do. But of paramount importance is protecting the honor of the nation, so much abused by the resolution of the *Pueblo* crisis. The new Administration needs new determination to protect that honor. This time the U.S. paid the ransom, so the blackmailers will probably make a second try. If we send them away empty-handed the second time, they may reconsider a third.



"Does it have the flu?"

Norman Thomas RIP

What isn't known, of course, is whether Norman Thomas will prove to have done more good than harm—let it be. The moment is not appropriate to discuss that question. The moment is appropriate to pay tribute to his remarkable concern to do right, which kept him busy throughout his life in the most arduous of all pursuits, face-to-face encounters with live audiences, preceded and followed by cocktail parties, receptions, questions, argument. He had, up until almost the end, a most radiant geniality which frequently immobilized the opposition, and gave him the presumptive edge with the crowd. He was an ordained minister of the gospel, who turned his thoughts to secular idealism but is now, we pray, at peace with the Lord, importuning Him more efficaciously than ever he could before, to take pity on us all.

Notes & **Asides**

■ Inasmuch as I am encouraged by my colleagues to fill this space as I please, I take liberties. Or do I? What follows is primarily of interest to syntacticians. How many of them are there? Not many. But—ah!—how many voyeurs? What follows is interesting, also, to students of friendship, nothing less than an assiduous case of which could have prompted the redoubtable Professor Hugh Kenner to such heroic efforts to demonstrate the demerits of a single English sentence. . . .

HK to WFB Sept. 19, 1968

. . . Garry [Wills] under pressure tends to deliquescent metaphor (vide his Miami piece, *NR*), as does WFB to filigree syntax (vide current *Esquire*, first sentence, which while it parses [to say which is to say that a chicken coop does not collapse] resembles less a tensioned intricacy in the mode of M. Eiffel than it does a toddler's first efforts with Tinkertoy).

WFB to HK Oct. 1

. . . You are surely wrong about that lead sentence? I re-read it, found it springy and tight.

HK to WFB Oct. 15

. . . about that *Esquire* lead: it reads in my copy
"Robert F. Kennedy had a way of saying things loosely, and it may be that that is among the reasons why so many people invested so much idealism in him, it being in the idealistic (as distinguished from the analytical) mode to make large and good-sounding generalities, like the generality he spoke on April 5 after the assassination of Martin Luther King, two months exactly before his own assassination."

"Springy and tight" my foot. Those aren't springs, they're bits of Scotch Tape. Have your syntactic DNA checked for mutations; it just isn't governing the wild forces of growth as of yore.

WFB to HK Oct. 17

Come on now, you are a goddam professor of English, so stop namecalling and get to work. . . .

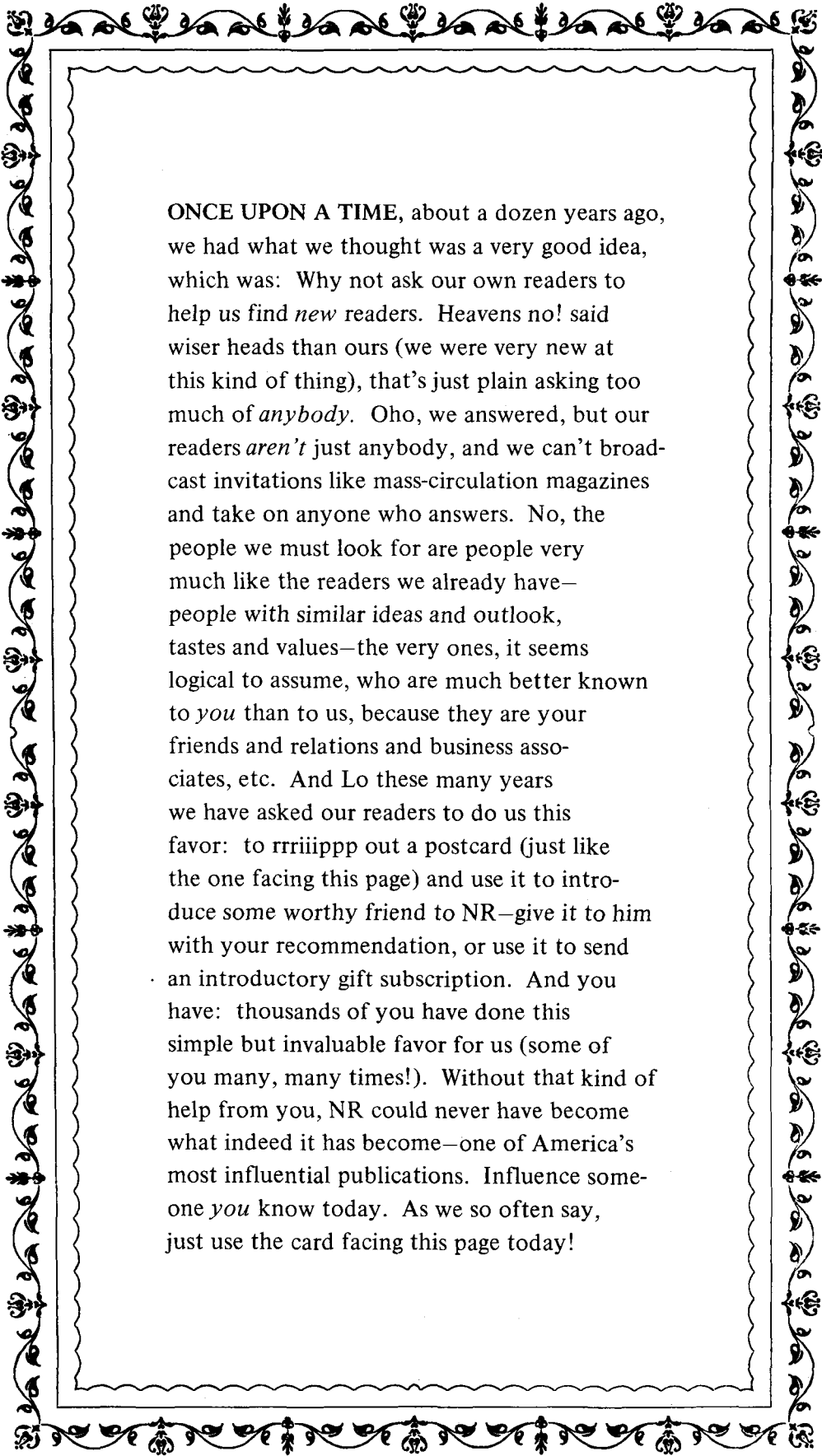
HK to WFB Oct. 25 .

. . . Okay, that sentence:

One way of putting the problem is that it's not discernibly heading anywhere; it ambles along, stuffing more and more odds & ends into its elastic bag, until it simply decides to sit down. Mr. Niemeyer has ridiculed my interest in syntactic energy, countering my regret that Johann Sebastian Bach should be taking out the garbage with his pleasure that it's being taken out, whazzamatter, don't I want a tidy house? Yet I revert to the concept: something, something corresponding to tension and relaxation, to the turn of the key and the swing of the door, to departure from and return to the tonic, makes us willing to accept the necessity of a long sentence being one sentence and not three spliced by mispunctuation. Back to the exhibit: if there were a period after "loosely" no one would feel that a flight had been arrested in mid-course. Or after "him," or after "generalities." I think one test of the long sentence is that if it's stopped before it's over the reader should sense the incompleteness. This is sometimes a matter of formal grammar: if we start with "because" the reader won't accept a full stop until he's been accorded a principal clause. It's sometimes just a matter of promising in the opening words or by the opening cadence (a device of Gibbon's) some amplitude of concern the reader expects to see implemented. But here the offer to develop the proposition that RFK had a way of saying things loosely creates no syntactic expectation because it's capable of standing as a sentence by itself; nor does it retrospectively command the rest of the sentence, because the sentence has managed to end not with an amplification of RFK's looseness but with a triplicated irrelevancy about the date.

"Robert F. Kennedy had a way of saying things loosely: large and good-sounding generalities which being in the idealistic (as distinguished from the analytical) mode help explain why so many people invested so much idealism in him: generalities like the one Martin Luther King's assassination prompted him to utter on April 5, just two months, as it happened, before he was assassinated himself."

A possible improvement, if one *must* include all those components. The main difference is that by putting the colon after "loosely" one gives notice that the opening clause will preside over the remainder, not simply join to the next section of track. Then repeat of "generalities" to hitch the peroration to the second member. And rearrangement of terminal items keeps the mention of King and l'affaire Sirhan from sounding like doodles irrelevantly prompted by "April 5." I do not



ONCE UPON A TIME, about a dozen years ago, we had what we thought was a very good idea, which was: Why not ask our own readers to help us find *new* readers. Heavens no! said wiser heads than ours (we were very new at this kind of thing), that's just plain asking too much of *anybody*. Oho, we answered, but our readers *aren't* just anybody, and we can't broadcast invitations like mass-circulation magazines and take on anyone who answers. No, the people we must look for are people very much like the readers we already have—people with similar ideas and outlook, tastes and values—the very ones, it seems logical to assume, who are much better known to *you* than to us, because they are your friends and relations and business associates, etc. And Lo these many years we have asked our readers to do us this favor: to rrrriipp out a postcard (just like the one facing this page) and use it to introduce some worthy friend to NR—give it to him with your recommendation, or use it to send an introductory gift subscription. And you have: thousands of you have done this simple but invaluable favor for us (some of you many, many times!). Without that kind of help from you, NR could never have become what indeed it has become—one of America's most influential publications. Influence someone *you* know today. As we so often say, just use the card facing this page today!

offer the improved version as anything but an exercise; I wasn't writing the article and haven't in my blood the points you anticipated making, so all I can manage is a piece of engineering.

I do not fuss about your occasional sentences to preserve a professorial edge. I merely call attention to dangers when I chance to see them. You revise carefully, I know, and it never hurts to have a few explicit criteria of revision. One is the rationale of the long sentence, as above (and failing that rationale, or failing time to adequate one's drafts to the rationale, *vita brevis* and deadlines being yesterday, one ought, I think, to cut spaghetti into shorter sentences where natural stopping places occur). Another is that grammatical lint is best picked: in my suggested version I've avoided "that that," "reasons why" (your ear had told you to eschew yet a third "that"), and "it being." These all have rhetorical uses, as colloquialisms bounced off girders, but strung along in a row like old peanut shells they suggest WFB just plain improvising while he awaits a glimpse of daylight, and suggest to les Dwight Macdonalds that the Scrambled Egghead Method is to talk till one figures out what one is saying. This method is of course frequently necessary, and inoffensive, *viva voce*, say on TV, but its appearance should be avoided in print.

WFB to HK Nov. 4

. . . I worry about that confounded sentence, as one worries upon failing to appreciate something which one is prepared to postulate as good, to wit your criticism of it. I shan't even apologize for belaboring the point, because I know that you will know that by talking back, I am proving that I have not put you to such inconvenience merely for my own amusement.

"Robert Kennedy had a way of saying things loosely" followed by the colon you suggest means to me that I am about to demonstrate my allegation, or give an example of it. Followed by a period, the lilt of the sentence is, it seems to me, self-consciously dramatic, as in "John F. Kennedy had a way of seducing women." Followed by a comma, I thought it to be leading rather gradually to a point I did not want for a while yet, until the mood set in, to crystallize: whence, "*and it may be that that is among the reasons why so many people invested so much idealism in him*"—again, if the period had come here, I'd have attempted, or so it strikes me, a stolen base, and the reader would have been annoyed by the intimation that I have proved my point; or that I infer that the reader will merely permit me to asseverate it. When, i.e. by way of further explanation, begging the reader's indulgence so to speak, "*it being in the idealistic (as distinguished from the analytical) mode to make large and good-sounding generalities*"—department of amplification, not without—yet—the example I am about to furnish, and spend several hundred words confuting, "*like the generality he spoke on April 5, after the assassination of Martin Luther King*" surely

writing about what Kennedy said about another man's assassination a few days after Kennedy's own assassination (which is when I wrote this article), gives a certain spooky suspense, which is ratified, Robert-Louis-Stevenson-wise, with the adverbial clause "*two months exactly before his own assassination*." That last I take to be a fair substitute for "two months exactly, as it happened, before his own assassination." Seems to me that, although the sentence is long it is not impossibly long, and that although the commas appear somehow to be loose and thoughtless linkages they are justified by their meiotic contribution to the plot I am contriving. Hell, it merely disturbs me that while I *understand* your generic points, my ear does not grant them a pre-emptive relevance in this instance; and I repeat, that I worry because undoubtedly you are right and I wrong. Anyway, I shall remember the generic advice. Believe. Me. Pal.

HK to WFB Nov. 7

. . . Not to wrangle, I'd make a final suggestion: that your inability to relate my comments, which you follow, to the sentence, the intentions of which you expound convincingly, is perhaps based on this, that you're not reading the printed sentence but hearing yourself speak it. By pause, by suspension, by inflection, by variation of tone and pace, you could make the "little plot" you speak of sing. The written language provides no notation for such controls, and your intention as graphed by printed words leaves the reader too much to supply, and too many options for supplying the wrong tacit commentary, e.g. that WFB is standing in an open space scattering peanut shells.

We have no such public style as Pope could posit, and vary from minutely, in an aesthetic of microscopic inappropriatenesses. We have instead the convention that the writer creates his operating conventions *de novo*. "Robert Kennedy had a way of saying things loosely."—followed by a hypothetical period, you say, its lilt is self-consciously dramatic. Yes, but those are the very first words of a long essay; we are just tuning in to station WFB; his eschewal of the self-consciously dramatic is not yet an operative principle; and one of the options open to us is to suppose that a dramatic opening was intended but muffed by a fault of punctuation. I think your rebuttal to my statement that the sentence could be terminated by a period at several points without creating a sense of incompleteness consists in an appeal to nuances of taste: it would make nuanced differences to cut it off here or here. So it would. But the reader hasn't yet a feel for the governing structure of taste in the piece before him. *Especially* in an opening, the reader would be well served by a syntactic tension, as inevitable as gravitation on an inclined plane, which makes it essential that the sentence incorporate, as it proceeds, the members it does, or else fall down. . . . Mais passons.

WFB urbi et orbe, Jan. 1, 1969: Who's right?

LETTER FROM BRUSSELS

Moonstruck

JAMES BURNHAM

IF, AS SOME have said all along, the chief purpose of the moon program is publicity and propaganda, it must be rated, now, a superlative success. The United States has never, but never, had a press half so good in Europe as during the Apollo 8 journey; television and radio—all the media, in short, that have to take immediate account of mass audiences—were just as ecstatic.

The big newsstands in Brussels and Amsterdam (which latter city I visited in midflight) carry the leading newspapers from all Europe. In every one of them Apollo 8 was the big news for the entire flight, outranking all local scandals, murders and crises. TV and radio coverage was extensive throughout, including multiple reruns of the real-time shots sent via communications satellite. Even Intervision, the Communist-bloc TV network, hooked up for the takeoff and in-flight relays.

What was perhaps most striking to one who has read and heard so many millions of European words itemizing the blunders, sins and crimes of America was the pleasant, positive, enthusiastic and generous tone of most of the reporting and commentary. There were hardly any snide remarks or asides.

The arguments against Apollo were not neglected—particularly the familiar objection that the enormous sums of money should have been spent on food, housing, birth control or something of that sort—but, after consideration, they were dismissed. *La plus grande aventure de tous les temps* ("The greatest adventure of all time"), as the usually rather sober-sided *Le Figaro* of Paris put it in an eight-column streamer, is intrinsically justified. It was with plain admiration, not disapproval or envy, that *La Libre Belgique* (Brussels) figured Apollo's cost to equal twenty times Belgium's 1968 national budget. THEY'RE ON THEIR WAY WITH ONLY 160,000 MILES TO GO, whooped the *Sunday Times* (London) in its largest type size.

I had the feeling that many of the writers were proud of Apollo. They

seemed to feel that this incredible achievement, so quintessentially American in the personalities of its principals as in the colossal scope of its organization of men and resources, was also *their* achievement; that, through this irrevocable leap into space, America was acting as surrogate not so much for the West merely as for all mankind.

I have happened to be out of the U.S. during several critical postwar incidents: in West Berlin, for example, during the first weeks of the Korean War, and in Southeast Asia during the Bay of Pigs affair.

The immediate reaction in Berlin to the Korean fighting was naturally enough alarm—a couple of Soviet divisions were concentrating near Potsdam and no one knew whether, in a drive coordinated with the Korean attack, they might not be going to move into the city. This was accompanied by a good deal of criticism of American incompetence, lack of foresight, etc., and resentment that the American presence in Berlin much increased the danger. As the North Koreans drove rapidly south in the first few days, the anti-American criticism grew more intense, even scornful, and spread to the French and British circles. Then, at the last moment, the American forces made their successful stand at the southern tip, counter-attacked and began pushing the North Koreans back. Overnight the sentiment shifted. For nearly everyone in West Berlin the U.S. was just the finest country ever.

In the Philippines the first reaction to the news of the Bay of Pigs invasion was: "It's about time." Everyone knew it was a U.S.-backed operation, and absolutely everyone took for granted that it would succeed in overthrowing Castro: took it for granted because it was universally assumed that the U.S., once having committed itself to the action, would throw in whatever force was necessary to carry it through.

The first reports of trouble were simply not believed. When it soon became clear that the invasion had ig-

nominiuously collapsed, the turn of opinion and comment against America was staggering. Public opinion in Southeast Asia could not have cared less about U.S. involvement—considered it, in fact, very much called for—but it cared mightily about U.S. bungling and failure.

I do not suggest that any and every mere display of American power wins favorable response. What is applauded, approved or at any rate accepted in the imperial nation is power used in a purposive way suggesting that the user knows what he is doing. The U.S. made the fundamental decision to go to the moon, has stuck to it in spite of continuing domestic and foreign criticism, and is succeeding. To assemble so vast a sum of power in pursuit of that goal compels admiration and respect even from those who may consider the goal as in itself wrong, foolish or irrelevant.

Power Is As Power Does

At the start in Korea the U.S. decided to prevent the over-running of the south, threw in enough power for that purpose, and had the Western and most neutralist (cf. the UN) nations on its side. Later, equivocation over the larger objectives not only injured U.S. interests but weakened and in part lost the support of international opinion. Kennedy's abject floundering over the Bay of Pigs guaranteed from the beginning that opinion would be almost solidly against the United States. Lyndon Johnson's unhesitating, firm and sustained intervention in the Dominican Republic provides an informative contrast. Though many denounced it at the start, by the time it was brought to a successful conclusion nearly everyone except doctrinaire leftists and a handful of professional moralizers either accepted it or forgot about it. In the case of the Vietnam war I am sure it is not the merits of the cause that have turned so much of world opinion against the U.S. but the meaningless off-again-on-again, now-you-do-it-now-you-don't way the U.S. has conducted itself, giving, precisely, the impression—which is, besides, perfectly correct—that we have no idea what we are doing in Vietnam or why.

The imperial nation cannot be loved, but it can be respected as well as feared, and will be when its actions deserve it. □

*Is the answer to subpar education in the public schools
more money, smaller classes, individual attention
to the disadvantaged?*

No, says Mr. Freeman, and documents his case with official reports

Dead End in American Education

ROGER A. FREEMAN

CERTAIN BASIC assumptions that have long dominated the thinking of American educationists are now being increasingly called into question. Almost no one used to doubt that children learned more in direct proportion to additional inundations of a) money, b) teachers, c) classrooms and d) integration: all appropriately nursed and coerced by the Federal Government since the states, naturally, could not be expected to be other than slightly Neanderthal. It now transpires, however, that since the passage of the "landmark" 1965 School Aid bill that was supposed to have favored disadvantaged children, not a shred of evidence has surfaced to support the contention that such children are helped by a, b, c, or d. Quite the contrary.

One must begin by comprehending the gigantic proportions of America's recent educational efforts. While the country's business and other private investment tripled over the past twenty years, investment in education increased eightfold, reaching about \$52 billion in the school year 1967-68. Public school revenues account for more than half of that, having increased by more than 150 per cent in the last decade. (Only a tenth of the increased funds came from the Federal Government.) Congress has passed forty major education laws in the last four years. It spent over \$4 billion on education this year alone.*

Under Title I of the 1965 bill, "compensatory" programs were set up across the country to help children who grew up in poor families, an attempt that was, I felt at the time, probably doomed to failure ("How to Railroad a School Bill," NR, May 18, 1965).

* According to the U.S. Budget, fiscal year 1967/68. LBJ has occasionally referred to \$12 billion of federal spending for education. Which figure you prefer depends on your definition of education.



Three years have passed since that bill, time enough for signs of success or failure to have appeared: the signs have indicated, alas for the children involved, failure. The Associated Press conducted a nationwide survey of the program's results in May and found that both critics and supporters now agree that it is not working. "It is a monumental flop, and the outbreak of recent riots speaks louder than anything I can say about the total collapse

of the program," said Rep. Roman Pucinski (D., Ill.), chairman of the House general subcommittee on education, and one of the bill's original sponsors. Said Assistant U.S. Commissioner of Education Joseph Fromkin: "We still have little evidence that the problem is being licked; in fact, we may even be falling behind." And Alice M. Rivlin, assistant secretary for program analysis at HEW: "I think we have found the task is much tougher than we thought at the start. . . . When it began, we really didn't know how to go about it. We still don't. . . ."

Professor Edmund Gordon, writing in the Winter 1966/67 issue of *College Board Review*, came to the astounding conclusion that "for all their variety the programs have generally suffered from one fundamental difficulty: they are based on sentiment rather than on facts." Actually, the programs were designed and authorized in the face of overwhelming evidence that they could not produce what their sponsors promised, and such evidence continues to pour in.

The U.S. Office of Education, in its first report on Title I in 1967, published a statistical table revealing that in nineteen tests ranging from reading comprehension to arithmetic the educational lag of participating children had been slightly reduced on ten tests but had actually increased on the other nine. Over all, the measurable advance was negligible, which was highly significant since three out of every four school districts in the United States were participating in Title I. The second-year report disclosed that the average disadvantaged child was farther behind national norms in reading and arithmetic *after* going through Title I programs than he had been before.

This did not come as a surprise to

students of earlier compensatory programs. In 1959, New York City had initiated a Higher Horizons (HH) project involving 100,000 children in 76 grade and high schools, the most extensive undertaking of its type up to that time. HH was hailed as the solution to the problem of bringing underprivileged children up to the norm, was copied by dozens of school systems across the country, and served as a model for Title I. In 1965, however, the New York City Board of Education reluctantly made public the results of a report on the program, which concluded that HH had virtually no effect in improving education. Investigators had found "no significant differences between students in schools with the HH program and similarly situated students in schools without the program." HH was closed down.

New York subsequently initiated an even more generously endowed project called More Effective Schools (MES): in 21 grade schools class sizes were cut to between twelve and twenty pupils and annual per-pupil costs boosted to \$1,263, about twice the regular amount. Senator Joseph Tydings declared that the program was a "remarkable example of what can be done in slum schools with small classes, special instruction services and striking teaching techniques; what can be done, in short, if the educational expenditures for ghetto schools are geared to the disproportionate needs of disadvantaged children." But a report on MES prepared by the Center for Urban Education at the request of the city Board of Education provided another big shock. The report (September 1967) noted an atmosphere of enthusiasm and hope and "a belief among all levels of staff that they were in a setting in which they could function." But it went on:

Equally clear are the data which indicate that the MES program has made no significant difference in the functioning of children, whether this was measured by observers rating what the children did in class, and how they do it, or whether it was measured by the children's ability in mathematics or reading on standardized tests. The data of this evaluation show that children in classes in MES schools were not behaving differently from children in classes in the officially designated control schools or in classes in other special service schools. *The achievement test data showed that the profiles of MES schools were no different from the profiles of these same schools before the*

program was instituted. Moreover, the academic year gains which previous evaluations had noted were not maintained over the calendar year so that over all, in most grades after three years of MES, the retardation below the urban norms used for reading was no better, and in some cases, worse. [Italics added]

Similar endeavors in Syracuse, St. Louis, Berkeley, Seattle, Philadelphia and dozens of other cities proved equally ineffective. Large numbers of specially trained teachers, sharp reductions in class size, and large infusions of money had not helped. Even extending school hours didn't pay off: New York City's All-Day Neighborhood School program, for example, revealed no significant difference in achievement levels among the 7,000 economically deprived children participating.

Temporary Gains

If compensatory programs could raise lagging children to significant new levels of attainment and enable them to succeed in better-paid occupations, several billions of dollars annually would be a cheap price. Perhaps it is because of this feeling that the facts are so often ignored. In November 1967, the Urban Coalition recommended "concentrated compensatory programs to equalize opportunities for achievement." The ten-year cost of such a program on an "adequate" national scale was estimated at \$100 to \$150 billion. This is roughly the equivalent of a national extension of New York's MES program. But what reason is there to believe that MES will prove more effective nationally than it did in New York?

Or consider Project Headstart, which aims at helping children from poor families to enter school on a par with children of more affluent parents. This was the most enthusiastically received of all the war on poverty programs: it had an almost irresistible emotional appeal, and was noncontroversial until recently. More than 600,000 children have participated each year for the past four years at a cost of more than \$300 million annually. But while initial results showed an average gain of eight to ten points on I.Q. verbal tests, it soon became apparent that the gain was only temporary: it disappeared entirely within a few months. Studies by Dr. Gerald Alpern, director of the Research Child

Psychiatry Services at Indiana University Medical School, Dr. Max Wolff of the New York Center for Urban Education, and others, found no lasting progress when Headstart children were compared with other control groups.

A recent report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found that none of the many compensatory education programs "appear to have raised significantly the achievement of participating pupils" and noted that the programs tended to strengthen growing *de facto* racial segregation in the schools. The report stated that integration was an important factor in helping disadvantaged children, yet there is no evidence that racial mixing *per se* advances the measurable achievements of lagging children, *vide* the experience of PS 7 and PS 8 in Brooklyn, one black and one white. With the enthusiastic support of parents the schools were paired, whereupon the over-all educational level dropped, parental enthusiasm turned to panic, and within one year both schools were black.

Black children tend to be, on the average, several months behind whites when they enter school, and the discrepancy widens as they are promoted each year until at the beginning of the twelfth grade the average black child lags from three to six years behind national norms, no matter what sort of school he has been attending.

Nevertheless, in order to prove that such differences are largely the result of inferior schools, the U.S. Office of Education in 1965 sponsored the most extensive study of the subject ever undertaken. Headed by James S. Coleman of Johns Hopkins University, it covered 4,000 schools with 600,000 children in grades one through twelve. To almost everyone's surprise, the Coleman report showed that the differences in the physical and economic resources of schools attended by Negro children and by white children are not significant: "The evidence revealed that within broad geographic regions, and for each racial and ethnic group, the physical and economic resources going into a school had very little relationship to the achievements coming out of it. . . . If it were otherwise, we could give simple prescriptions: increase teachers' salaries, lower classroom size, enlarge libraries, and so on. But the evidence does not allow such simple answers." Among the specific findings of the report was the startling datum that pupil-teacher ratios "showed a

consistent lack of relation to achievements among all groups under all conditions." (Again, this should really have come as no shock. The *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* of 1950 summarized more than 200 studies of class size, concluding: "On the whole the statistical findings definitely favor large classes at every level of instruction except the kindergarten . . . the general trend of evidence places the burden of proof squarely upon the proponents of small classes.")

Schools' Fault?

The burden of the Coleman report was a repudiation of the entire mode of thinking that holds environment entirely responsible for whatever shortcomings are apparent in individual pupils. Yet spokesmen for this position have failed to demonstrate why achievement differences are far wider among the children in a given school than between the test-score average of the various schools. If it were all the schools' fault, the impact of each school on its pupils ought to be more uniform than this.

Parents whose children attend schools with low average scores increasingly tend to blame school boards, administrators, teachers, curricula, a trend that is resulting in demands that school control in urban poverty areas be transferred to local communities on the theory that parents, with their children's interests at heart, will see to it that the schools provide a good education. In order to test this concept, the New York City Board of Education built a "dream school"—IS 201 in Harlem which opened in 1966. It cost \$5 million, much of the decision-making was left to parents, the teacher-pupil ratio was 1:13.8. On February 1, 1968, this school was described as a "bedlam" by the *New York Times* and later as a "model mess" by the Associated Press. By December 1968 IS 201 was in a state of revolt while reports on tangible accomplishments were conspicuous by their absence. Even worse was the experience with the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district in Brooklyn, whose schools were controlled by the local board. Shortly after they were described as "a failure by any known measurement" in the *New York Times Magazine*, growing conflicts between the teachers and the parents paralyzed not only the schools

in the demonstration project but led to a closing of the entire New York City school system for most of the fall of 1968. While the idea of school control by local communities has some merits, its translation into practice in three New York "disadvantaged" areas has not only resulted in no improvement in the children's education but created chaos and caused the skill and knowledge of New York's school children to fall farther behind.

Christopher Jencks, writing in the *New Republic*, concluded that the Coleman report "makes a convincing though not a definite case for the view that student achievement depends largely on forces over which today's schools exercise little control." What about those forces? What determines student ability?

Harry Levin of the Brookings Institution observed, in the *Saturday Review*, that since children possess a wide range of inherited abilities and are products of different family and community influences, it is hardly surprising to learn that most variation in performance is not attributable to the schools: "The literature on testing suggests that from 60 per cent to 90 per cent of the variance in standardized ability tests is attributable to genetic differences among individuals."

At this point, the debate usually tends to become irrational, and Coleman was concerned lest some of his findings be misinterpreted as permitting racist implications. He was careful to emphasize that "racial composition *per se* of the school was not related to achievement when the social class composition was controlled." In other words, individual attainment is unrelated to racial background although it is indeed related to personal background.

The most significant statistical correlation was found to exist between the pupil's achievement test scores and the socio-economic level of his parents. However, until continued research has resolved the existing heredity-environment uncertainty, explanations of the close relation between parental income and children's educational attainment scores will remain hypothetical.

What, then, to do? The answer is simply that nobody knows. Coleman submitted no recommendations: "Indeed, if recommendations had been requested, they could hardly have been given, for the facts themselves point

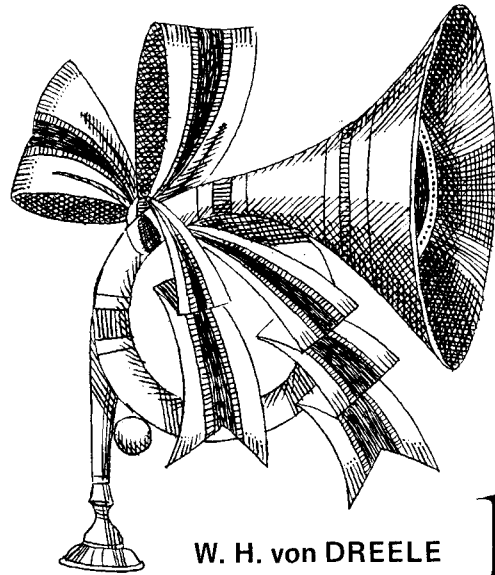
to no obvious solution." Participants in the Civil Rights Commission's national education conference in November of 1967 "reflected a general feeling of frustration," according to the *New York Times*, and while everyone thought more money should be spent, the conference made no recommendation on *how* it should be spent. All this does not mean that we should give up attempts to offer all children an opportunity to acquire an education to the limits of their abilities. But unless certain facts of life are recognized, we will only continue the frustrating experience of the past few years.

'Track' Schools

Children differ widely in their aptitudes, and no power on earth can make *all* of them perform at or near the norms for their ages. Differences between the more and less gifted widen with age. This is why virtually all countries operate two or more parallel secondary school systems, and why some of our own schools run several "tracks." But in the great majority of American public schools, heterogeneous grouping and automatic annual promotion are now common practice, confronting the teacher with the almost impossible task of simultaneously educating in one classroom three or more grade levels of children. It is just as wrong and destructive not to segregate children for educational purposes according to their measurable innate capacity as it is to segregate them deliberately by color of skin. Most European countries run schools which for low-ability children combine teaching of basic essentials with training in marketable skills. From a certain age, schools provide part-time classroom instruction tied in with apprenticeship training by potential employers. The prejudice against vocational education in this country must be overcome and the myth destroyed that chronological age is the only criterion by which children should be assigned to schools, classes, grades, and curricula.

Beyond this, time alone will provide the development in our general and scientific understanding that will permit us to find solutions. In the meantime, educationists must at least be honest with themselves in examining their failures, and must not be afraid to retrace their steps before beginning afresh. □

Happy New Year, Mr. Nixon



W. H. von DREELE

If, recognizing my potential, Dick
Decided my advice were politic
And graciously invited me to air
My bias with the boys at the Pierre,
“I’ve got a little list” of things to do,
Updated constantly, for their review.

To start with State, the *instant* Rusk is gone,
Dismiss the squishy second echelon.
They’ll bleat a bit, but fire them forthwith;
Then lift the silly ban on Ian Smith.
If ban we must, consider a blockade
Of countries pressing Ho with foreign aid.

While still on Africa, I’d take a peek
At policies we push in Mozambique.
What if, like Belgium, Portugal withdrew. . .
Threw in the towel in Angola, too?
I’ve got a sinking feeling Uncle Sam
Would have himself another South Vietnam.

Meanwhile, up north, the situation sours
In seas the Romans liked to label “Ours.”
The *Moskva* (followed by the *Leningrad*)
Mean somebody in Muscovy is mad.
Position Paper-wise, I recommend
A modern fleet to counteract the trend.

In fact, if I were President, I’d want
To still this stupid talk about *détente*.
With Prague in manacles, it’s very odd
Exchanging ballet dancers gets the nod.
Remember Stalin’s slur about the pope?
They still respect divisions, not soft soap.

At home, where Mr. Nixon’s recent win
Is pictured by the *New York Times* as “thin,”
Don’t overlook the paper’s point of view!
The Messrs. Sulzberger are *very blue*.
(They tell me Clifton Daniel’s still in shock
The way Miami ran around the Rock.)

However, let’s examine their unease.
They look upon the South as a disease.
Moreover, since the South was out of reach
To all but Nixon at Miami Beach,
They’re desperately trying to destroy
The influence some Southerners enjoy.

So, all together: Gratitude to Strom
Means Thurmond’s on a par with Nixon’s Mom!
Which, practically speaking, simply means
If Jacob Javits threatens him with scenes,
The President will gently jettison
The Screamer for the backer of The One.

This summons the election’s major theme:
Excesses in the slums and academe.
As soon as Ramsey Clark evaporates,
Let’s cauterize these campus-city hates
By nominating an Attorney who
Believes in Mace instead of billet-doux.

I could go on in Humphrey-fashion, but
A tiny voice inside me hollers CUT!
Which by the way’s a thought I hereby share
With all you gentlemen at the Pierre.
When writing for the boss, *do* take a leaf
From Mr. Lincoln’s prose, and keep it brief.

AT THE TIME of the Cuban missile crisis Nikita Khrushchev, then the Soviet leader, undertook to remove Soviet missiles from Cuba. In consideration President Kennedy gave various assurances to Khrushchev, the exact nature of which has never been made public. It is reasonably certain—at least it has been repeatedly publicly stated without denial—that President Kennedy pledged that the United States would not invade Cuba. What other engagements President Kennedy made we can only conjecture. Dr. Mario Lazo, in his recently published work, *Dagger in the Heart*, marshaling abundant evidence, concludes that President Kennedy also agreed at least (1) to remove United States Jupiter missiles from Turkish and English bases and (2) to prevent anti-Castro elements in the United States from providing assistance to rebellious forces in Cuba (an opposite policy from that which prevailed during the Batista regime).

In a magazine article published in 1964 Mr. Richard Nixon took a dim view of President Kennedy's negotiations during the missile crisis. When he becomes President, to what extent will Mr. Nixon be bound by the pledges, whatever they may have been, made by President Kennedy?

In answering this question it is first useful to review the kinds of international agreements which the Constitution, legislation and custom have recognized, viz., treaties and "executive agreements."

1. **TREATIES.** Treaties are the most formal and solemn international agreements, made by the President with the consent of two-thirds of the Senate. A treaty is the "supreme law of the land" and may even have the effect of a constitutional amendment, according to the ruling of the Supreme Court in *Missouri v. Holland*. Because of this decision Senator Bricker and others proposed an amendment to the Constitution which would have denied a treaty any such effect. (The key sentence read that "a provision of a treaty or any other international agreement which conflicts with any provision of the Constitution shall not be of any force or effect.") The "Bricker Amendment" failed of passage. Treaties bind the United States for the length of time which they may provide, and that may be forever.

2. **EXECUTIVE AGREEMENTS.** Such agreements are made by the President

without the consent of the Senate. They in turn fall into three categories: a) Those authorized by an Act of Congress by which Congress exercises a constitutional power. A familiar example is the trade agreements affecting customs duties entered into under the authority of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934, itself authorized by that provision of the Constitution delegating to Congress the power to regulate foreign commerce. Similar examples are international agreements made by the President under the authority of various Acts of Congress respecting the carriage of mails, trademarks, patents, copyrights, etc. b) Those implicit in the powers granted to the President directly by the Constitution. Thus the Constitution makes the President "Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy." In that capacity he, and officers under him, have made a host of international agreements affecting deployment of forces, the coordination of strategy, and the like. The World War II conferences at Teheran, Casablanca, Quebec and Yalta are well-known illustrations. Armistice agreements are another illustration. The Constitution also authorizes the President to "receive Ambassadors." The President, by virtue of that authority, recognizes a foreign power by receiving its ambassador. He may make an agreement with a foreign power when granting recognition, as, for instance, President Franklin Roosevelt did when he recognized the Soviet Union. c) Those made by the President without specific authority from either the Constitution or an Act of Congress, but in his capacity as chief administrative officer whom subordinate officers may be expected to obey. Examples are the Rush-Bagot agreement, an agreement made by President Monroe with Great Britain for the laying-up of warships in the Great Lakes; President Theodore Roosevelt's agreement with Santo Domingo (now the Dominican Republic)

for the administration of its financial affairs, and the Lansing-Ishii Agreement of 1917 by which the United States recognized the special interests of Japan in North China.

President Kennedy's agreement with Khrushchev was not a treaty, not having been consented to by two-thirds of the Senate. It was an executive agreement falling within this last category, not being authorized by any express provision of the Constitution or any Act of Congress.

A TREATY ordinarily is either a permanent arrangement or one for a definite period of time. On the other hand, a recognized characteristic of an executive agreement is, if it lays down a course of conduct, its temporary or terminable nature. This is true of all categories of such agreements.

The Department of State has said:

Executive agreements with foreign governments entered into under one President continue to remain in force under his successors unless and until . . . notice of a desire to terminate is given by one side or the other.

According to the late Edwin Borchard, Professor of International Law at the Yale Law School:

An executive agreement, as the name indicates, "binds" only as long as it suits both sides. It normally "binds" only the signing Executive, not his successors. If they wish it to continue, it is by voluntary act. . . . Repeal of authorizing statute suffices [with respect to agreements made pursuant to Act of Congress].

Thus international agreements for the reduction of tariffs, purporting to be unlimited in time, have been terminated by the United States when the enabling legislation was repealed. On two occasions other countries—Brazil and France—protested, but their pro-

(Continues on page 39)

MISSILE CRISIS FALLOUT

Is Nixon Bound By Kennedy's Cuban 'Pledge'?

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

GOD GOES BACK TO SCHOOL



FROM THE ACADEMY

"God is great, and God is good, and we thank Him for this food." Those are fighting words in some school districts, and federal courts have rendered contradictory decisions on whether or not it is permissible, under the Constitution, to ask the blessing of the Deity upon a school lunch. Yet I think that we will suffer less of this bathos in future.

For one thing, even the Warren Court now hesitates to intrude farther into the realm of school management—particularly on the burning questions of religious veneration and teaching about religion. Indeed, what Chief Justice Warren probably did not intend actually may come to pass: that is, public schools may pay more attention to matters of religion than they did formerly, and in a fashion more intelligent. Now that much of the American public has been roused to resentment by court meddling in such matters, serious study is being directed to what can and should be taught concerning faith and morals.

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS and teachers generally are confused as to what they can or can't do about religious knowledge; many districts timidly shun the whole subject, though they may be supinely permissive about everything else. I am happy to report, however, that there exists a reliable source from which school board members, school officials, and public-school teachers may obtain no end of information: the Religious Instruction Association, Inc. (RIA) (4001 Fairfield Avenue, Fort Wayne, Indiana). This is a non-profit, non-denominational organization, which has on hand large stocks of reprints of articles on the topic. A contribution of one dollar will obtain the initial packet of information; a full set of reprints costs three dollars.

As the RIA makes clear, the Supreme Court has not forbidden the study of religion—that is, teaching *about* religion; it has merely forbidden authoritative

imparting of particular doctrines, or conducting religious services of any sort in public schools. Comparative religions, the history of religion, and sacred texts may be studied—nay, such study even was commended by the Court—so long as such teaching does not amount to systematic indoctrination in a creed, or give one faith conspicuous preference over another. This may make such studies more difficult, but it does not make them impossible or ineffectual. It is even possible to pray in public schools, so long as particular prayer is not prescribed by authority and required of all students.

As the intelligent RIA people put it, "The school may study what is practiced, but not practice what is studied." And these general rules for public schools are laid down by the RIA, in the light of court decisions:

"The school should sponsor the *study* of religion, but should not sponsor the *practice* of religion.

"The school should *expose* students to all religious views, but should not *impose* any particular view.

"The schools' approach to religion is one of instruction, not one of *indoctrination*.

"The function of the school is to *educate* about all religions, not to *convert* to any one religion.

"The schools' approach to religion is *academic*, not devotional.

"The school should *study* what all people believe, but should not *teach* a pupil what he should believe.

"The school should strive for student *understanding* of all religions, but should not press for student *acceptance* of any one religion.

"The school should seek to *inform* the student about various beliefs, but should not seek to *conform* him to any one belief."

Mr. James V. Panoch and Mr. David L. Barr, of RIA, have just published a valuable manual: *Religion Goes to School, a Practical Handbook for Teachers* (Harper & Row). *Religion*

Goes to School has two purposes: to make clear what can be done lawfully in this matter, and to suggest methods and materials for classroom use. Sample curricular units are described; there is a long and most useful list of audio-visual resources; and the critical bibliography is good.

If public schools begin actively to teach the historical and cultural background of religions, then the churches will be able to teach doctrines far more successfully than they have in a long while: religious illiteracy was a curse of the average American long before the Supreme Court handed down its verdicts on Bible-reading, prayer, and the like. Still, there are obvious problems connected with any attempt to teach about competing faiths without approving one creed more than another; and for a long while, at least, a great many school districts may try to evade such disciplines altogether.

THEFORE THE SURVIVAL and improvement of church-connected schools is more important than ever it was before. Yet at the very time when we need the parish school and similar institutions, increasing costs of school operation and heavy taxation make the existence of Christian, Jewish, and other schools precarious. Some relief of the people who support church schools is much needed: for they long have borne the double burden of maintaining their own schools and paying full taxes to support public schools.

Pennsylvania's legislature, at its last session, enacted the first general measures of such relief in any state. Michigan's legislature now inclines toward a plan for returning some state tax revenues to the parents of children enrolled in church schools. Direct subsidy from public funds can be avoided, under various proposals. Thus the Supreme Court, if inadvertently, may have set in motion a movement which can prevent the total secularization of schooling. □

Defeat of an Educator

VICTOR GOLD

In the juvenescent Sixties, the revolution devours its elders. One bright school morning eleven years ago, Dr. Carl F. Hansen, then Executive Assistant to the Superintendent of District of Columbia public schools, woke up to find himself urban folk hero of the Washington Liberal Establishment. The reason: a treatise titled *Miracle of Social Adjustment*, in which Dr. Hansen resisted Southern segregationist attacks on D.C. schools, vigorously arguing that the national capital's "accommodation to rapid desegregation by over 100,000 pupils and adults associated with them . . . was unprecedented in the annals of social revolution."

Indeed, in those early revolutionary years, Carl Hansen, perhaps more than any other man, was responsible for bringing the District's public schools through a difficult period, while striving, in some instances with remarkable success, for "a standard of excellence that would make every citizen not only eager but proud to enroll his children in the public schools."

Yet revolutionary wheels, once moved, are apt to come full circle. So it was that at 11 A.M. of a rather gray morning, July 3, 1967, the sustained pressure of militant black educationists and their liberal rearguard finally accomplished what the Superintendent's Southern segregationist adversaries could not: hectoring by extremists, his authority to operate the school system sharply cut, estopped from appealing Judge Wright's outer-limits school redistricting decision, Carl F. Hansen turned in his resignation.

For the most part, this book is a chronology of the Hansen transmogrification in Establishment eyes, from *bête noire* of Southern segs during the Fifties, to *bête blanche* of black militants ten years later. As might be expected, and as the author forewarns, it is not "a sweetness and light narrative about a school system," but rather a book "saturated with anger and shrouded with melancholy." Yet, more than self-service and vanity are involved when Dr. Hansen dissects his own personal experience to find a danger in Washington which threatens the principle and operation of public schooling throughout the country.

He arrived in Harry Truman's segregated Washington in 1947, committed to doing "all I could to promote desegregation in the District of Columbia public schools," while at the same time providing "the toughest, most demanding and most fundamental schooling" students could absorb. In the years following, he distinguished himself (save, to be sure, in the eyes of segregationist detractors) by developing such innovative educational programs as the four-track curriculum and the special Amidon School demonstration project.

IT WAS the track system, "launched in 1956, with generally ecstatic support from the press and the community," which ultimately proved the Achilles heel in Hansen's comprehensive plans for the school system.

"When I came into the senior high schools in 1955," he writes, "I found that the great amount of retardation among both blacks and whites made a change in curriculum structure imperative. More than 25 per cent of the tenth graders read no better than at the sixth grade level, and 40 per cent of the same group could do no better than sixth grade level in mathematics. Coming to me from scores on standardized tests taken by these students in the ninth grade, these facts created a great need

Danger in Washington: The Story of My Twenty Years in the Public Schools in the Nation's Capital
By Carl F. Hansen
Parker Publishing Co., \$6.95

for a curriculum that would differentiate academic instruction in relation to levels of achievement."

The trigger word for the revolutionary Sixties is, of course, "differentiate." In time, the militant opposition turned its guns on the track system as "a way of resegregating by race, because so many of the black pupils were behind in their work that they would be placed together in the same classes even if the schools were integrated."

Though recognizing that student tracking had built-in defects, Dr. Hansen nevertheless defended the system against its detractors, much as he had taken on Congressman Davis of Georgia and other critics of District school operations in the Fifties. This time, however, no liberal editorial kudos were to come his way. Quite the contrary, in the end he stood alone in his belief that if public schools are to survive in an age of mass matriculation, "they need to plan curriculums that will help those so backward academically that they read at the fourth grade level, or so advanced that they read at the college level."

"The advocates of democracy in education missed the point about the track system," he writes. "Opportunity for education must relate to the individual. . . . With more than 90 per cent of the people of high school age in school, many are bound to be below standard in achievement. This is a fact of nature, not of race."

THE HOBSON LAWSUIT to eliminate the track system, optional school area boundaries, and other alleged forms of de facto segregation, brought to a head several years of deteriorating relations between the Superintendent and his dis-

strict constituency. For even during happier revolutionary days when he was loved for his enemies, Carl Hansen was never truly at one with either the establishment or educational mods: the compulsive permissives deplored his insistence upon such nineteenth-century techniques as grading and phonics; teachers' union organizers resented his continuing opposition to their movement; nor were federal agency guideliners and poverty warriors enthusiastic about a national capital school superintendent given to warning against "educational paralysis that results from orders and edicts imposed on teachers working in classrooms far from Washington."

The thought persists that if indeed Carl Hansen was a miracle worker during his twenty years in the national capital school system, not the least of his accomplishments was to survive, and at times prevail with such views, at the very vortex of liberal bureaucracy.

But what now of D.C. public schools post Hansen? A Hobson's choice educational system, as the author predicted it would be. Julius Hobson himself has campaigned for office on the premise that what the D.C. Board of Education needs is "a black man with sex" and has emerged as the dominant figure on the city school landscape; as for Hansen's successor, he has been ineffectual under constant attack. The wheel turns and where it will stop not even a Carl Hansen can accurately predict. "The public schools in the country will survive the danger in Washington," he writes, a solitary note of optimism in an otherwise melancholy report. "They will come through stronger than before,

sharper in the service supplied, more fully dedicated to the objective of rational human behavior." But this book argues otherwise. Ask any New Yorker: ten years ago Americans were worried about their public schools because Johnny couldn't read. But at the going revolutionary rate of the Hobson-McCoy-Shanker sexy Sixties, Johnny's kid brother can't even get into the building. □

MEN AND LETTERS

FITZGERALD AND HEMINGWAY: THE DIFFICULT FRIEND

JEFFREY HART

In *That Summer in Paris* Morley Callaghan tells a story which has now become deservedly famous. Hemingway and Callaghan were amateur boxers, and during the summer of 1929 they periodically went a few rounds together at the American Gym in Paris. Scott Fitzgerald, so the story goes, imagined—or pretended to imagine—that Hemingway was really a great boxer, able to hold his own with the top heavyweights. One afternoon he accompanied the two friends to the gym to act as time-keeper. Astonished that Callaghan was more than holding his own against Hemingway, Fitzgerald allowed one round to go on for an extra two minutes, and in the overtime Hemingway was knocked flat on his back.

"Oh, my God!" Scott cried suddenly. When I looked at him, alarmed, he was shaking his head helplessly. "I let the round go for four minutes," he said.

"Christ!" Ernest yelled. He got up. He was silent for a few seconds. Scott, staring at his watch was mute and wondering. I wished I were miles away. "All right, Scott," Ernest said savagely, "If you want to see me getting the s--- knocked out of me, just say so. Only don't say you made a mistake," and he stomped off to the shower room to wipe the blood from his mouth.

This disproportionate reaction understandably shocked Callaghan, who felt that he was "on the edge of some dark pit." Hemingway, he recalled, "had told me he had been avoiding Scott because Scott was a drunk and a nuisance and he didn't want to be bothered with him. It was plain now it wasn't the whole story. Lashing out with those bitter angry words, Ernest had practically shouted that he was aware Scott had some deep hidden animosity toward him. Shaken as I was, it flashed through my mind, is the animosity in Scott, or is it really in Ernest? And why should it be in Ernest?"

It is a startling episode, but also thoroughly typical of the odd, complicated, and strained relationship which existed between these two great writers. Each was intensely aware of the other, and aware not only of the other as a writer but as a mythic presence as well, and each was intensely involved with the significance of the other's myth.

EVERYONE RECALLS the dismissive statements about Fitzgerald in *The Snows of Kilimanjaro* (1936). Harry, a writer who is dying of gangrene in Africa, recalls "poor Julian" (in the original version of the story it was "poor Scott"; Hemingway altered it when Fitzgerald indignantly objected):

The rich were dull and they drank too much, or they played too much backgammon. They were dull and they were repetitious. He remembered poor Julian and his romantic awe of them and how he had started a story once that began, "The very rich are different from you and me." And how someone had said to Julian, Yes, they have more money. But that was not humorous to Julian. He thought they were a special glamorous race and when he found they weren't it wrecked him just as much as any other thing that wrecked him.

This is highly unfair to the story it



refers to, "The Rich Boy," which Fitzgerald wrote just after *Gatsby*. The story, like *Gatsby*, does not express a romantic awe of the rich; it analyzes critically some of the implications of wealth.

The comment on Fitzgerald in *The Snows of Kilimanjaro* is well enough known, but what is not so generally realized is that the whole discussion of wealth between Fitzgerald and Hemingway—if discussion is indeed the right word—was much more extensive and complicated. *The Snows of Kilimanjaro* appeared in 1936. Two years before that Fitzgerald had written into *Tender Is The Night* a kind of parable of his and Hemingway's careers, and had also implied his own judgment of their significance as writers.

Dick Diver, a Yale man and a former Rhodes scholar, a brilliant psychoanalyst, has devoted himself to caring for the rich and beautiful but psychotic Nicole. He has married her; he has sacrificed his own professional career; and in the end he cures her, thus rendering her independent at last—and himself unnecessary. Dick Diver, of course, closely resembles Fitzgerald himself, and he is a kind of surrogate for Fitzgerald in the novel.

But in a similar way Ernest Hemingway is also in the book, in the form of the nihilistic mercenary soldier, Tommy Barban. Wounded severely as Hemingway had been, Barban, like Hemingway, seeks in physical violence and the stimulus of combat relief from his awareness of meaninglessness, of *nada*.

Rosemary stood beside Tommy Barban—he was in a particularly scornful mood and there seemed to be some special stimulus working upon him. He was leaving in the morning.

"Going home?"

"Home? I have no home. I am going to a war."

"What war?"

"What war? Any war. I haven't seen a paper lately but I suppose there's a war—there always is."

"Don't you care what you fight for?"

"Not at all—so long as I'm well treated. When I'm in a rut I come to see the Divers, because then I know that in a few weeks I'll want to go to war."

But at the end of the novel, after Dick has cured her, destroying himself in the process, Nicole divorces him and marries Barban. What are we to make of this?

Nicole's illness, it is clear from the

novel, is more than a personal thing; it adumbrates, in fact, the illness of Western culture. Her psychosis derives from the fact that as a child she was incestuously violated by her father. But the theme of incest, actual and metaphorical, is a prominent one elsewhere in the novel. Rosemary Hoyt, the movie actress, has made her name in a film



called *Daddy's Girl*, the culmination of which consists of "a lovely shot of Rosemary and her parent united at last in a father complex so apparent that Dick winced for all psychologists at the vicious sentimentality."

If we think of such incest as only the most explicit form of a perversion of the natural relationship between different generations, the theme may be seen to have analogues elsewhere in the novel. Diver himself goes to bed with Rosemary, with *Daddy's Girl*, and so participates in the pattern; and before that he has betrayed the relationship between the generations in another way—by cutting himself off from his own moral tradition and thus losing his hold on the moral validity embodied by his father: "His father had been sure of what he was, with a deep pride of the two widows who had raised him to believe that nothing could be superior to good 'instincts,' honor, courtesy, and courage." When his father dies, Dick returns to America in order to bury him in Virginia, and his farewell to his father is also a farewell to a past which he no longer possesses.

As far as Western culture is concerned, the violation of the natural

relationship between the generations was the First World War: the mass slaughter produced "the broken universe of the war's ending," made a decisive break in civilized tradition. This is the point of the famous episode in which Dick and Rosemary visit the battlefields of the Western front. "This land here cost twenty lives a foot that summer," he said to Rosemary . . . "See that little stream—we could walk to it in two minutes. It took the British a month to walk to it—a whole empire walking very slowly, dying in front and pushing forward behind. And another empire walked very slowly backward a few inches a day, leaving the dead like a million bloody rugs. No Europeans will ever do that again in this generation. . . . All my beautiful lovely safe world blew itself up here with a great gust of high explosive love."

Returning now to Barban as Hemingway surrogate, what is Fitzgerald suggesting? Dick cures Nicole. That is, Fitzgerald has the insight to diagnose and cure "the disease"—the moral disease afflicting Western culture. The cure is an act of understanding: in other words, the book itself, *Tender Is The Night*. But Nicole, now sane, marries Barban. I understand Fitzgerald to be saying that, though he himself possesses the true understanding, the rewards—wealth, glamor, success, love—will accrue to Hemingway. Though a nihilistic man of violence—as his name suggests, a barbarian—he will get *The Girl*.

Hemingway's sentences about "poor Julian" in *The Snows of Kilimanjaro* strike many readers as an example of unmotivated malice. But *Tender Is The Night* had come out two years earlier, and Hemingway, you may be sure, had read it with attention.

FITZGERALD WAS RIGHT, too, at least about their respective fortunes. He had emerged as a writer much earlier than Hemingway, and he had been richly rewarded: *The Girl*—success, glamor, wealth, fame—had all been his. Hemingway's first collection of stories did not appear until 1925, and by then Fitzgerald was the established author of *Gatsby*. But by 1934 when *Tender Is The Night* was published, this relationship had been reversed. Interestingly enough, Tommy Barban remarks that he had waited five years for Nicole before winning her; just as Hemingway had to wait through the period of Fitzgerald's stunning success before taking

over the role of dominant American novelist, as *the* great writer and world figure. After 1934, indeed, Fitzgerald, like Dick Diver, went into eclipse.

STILL, for all this, Fitzgerald may have had the last word in the highly symbolic debate over "the rich." "The very rich," he had written, "are different from you and me. They possess and enjoy early, and it does something to them, makes them soft where we are hard, and cynical where we are trustful, in a way that, unless you were born rich, it is very difficult to understand." In *The Snows of Kilimanjaro*, we have seen, the joke seems to be at Fitzgerald's expense. But in Hemingway's last book, the posthumously published *A Moveable Feast*, the rich turn out to be, in fact, different. They play a crucial role in the design of the book, a reminiscence of Hemingway's early days in Paris when he was poor, but discovering his power as a writer, and deeply in love with his first wife. The book is a sort of "paradise lost"—and it is the rich who have the ability to destroy that paradise:

During our last year in the mountains new people came deep into our lives and nothing was ever the same again. The winter of the avalanches



was like a happy and innocent winter in childhood compared to the next winter, a nightmare winter disguised as the greatest fun of all, and the murderous summer that was to follow. It was that year that the rich showed up.

The point is that through his own

naïveté Hemingway allows the rich to break up his marriage and bring the idyll to a disastrous conclusion.

Nor is it any accident that the presence of Fitzgerald haunts *A Moveable Feast*. He is the most prominent figure in the book outside of the author himself, and easily the most enigmatic. Hemingway is not really able to deal with him, to penetrate him; and though Hemingway gets in some digs at him—he is no longer remembered at the Ritz, etc.—Fitzgerald more than holds his own in their strange relationship. The notorious chapter called "A Matter of Measurements" has to be read, in my view, as a sensational put-on at the expense of Hemingway's pose of hypervirility, all of his talk about *cojones* and so on. In this chapter Hemingway and Fitzgerald have lunch at Michaud's in Paris, and at the end of the meal Fitzgerald suddenly discloses to Hemingway his fears that in certain respects he is underdeveloped. The creator of Jake Barnes offers to give Fitzgerald his expert opinion.

"Come into the office," I said.

"Where is the office?"

"Le water," I said.

We came back into the room and sat down at the table.

"You're perfectly fine," I said. "You are OK. There's nothing wrong with you."

But Fitzgerald still expresses doubts, and so Hemingway suggests that they go over to the Louvre to examine the naked statues in the interest of establishing some criterion of normality. "We went over to the Louvre and he looked at the statues but he was still doubtful about himself."

The whole story is hilarious, and rich in meaning: this use of the Louvre, for example, can be read as a joke at the expense of American utilitarianism and philistinism, or, since an American is telling it, as a joke at the expense of European Culture Worship. But I think the main joke is being directed by Fitzgerald at Hemingway's preoccupation with sex and virility, a joke all the more impressive since it gets told in Hemingway's own posthumous memoirs.

At times, one imagines, Hemingway must have felt the presence all around him of those startling blue-green innocent-ironic eyes of Fitzgerald. And indeed we will never know whether it really was accidental when Fitzgerald allowed that round, in 1929, to run for an extra two minutes. □

Venceremos!—The Speeches and Writings of Che Guevara
Edited by John Gerassi

Macmillan, \$7.95

REVOLUTIONARY— AND BANAL

ROGER W. FONTAINE

The collected works of Ernesto Guevara Serna have recently appeared in English. They may destroy El Che's growing reputation as a creative "revolutionary intellectual." Such, of course, was not the purpose of the compiler, John Gerassi, whose credentials as a revolutionary intellectual, by the way, are not at all visible either. Nevertheless Mr. Gerassi favors us with a long eulogy disguised as biographical sketch, and, in addition, writes short introductory notes before each of Che's many *pronunciamentos*.

THE BLUNT TRUTH is that Guevara appears in this collection as a kind of anti-Renaissance man, interested in a wide range of subjects, and displaying near total ignorance in all of them.

In the esoteric realm of international economics we catch Che saying to the UNCTAD meeting of 1964:

The International Monetary Fund is the watchdog of the dollar in the capitalist camp, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is the instrument for the infiltration of United States capital and the Inter-American Development Bank performs the same sorry function on the American continent. All these organizations are governed by rules and principles which are represented as safeguards of equity and reciprocity in international economic relations, whereas in reality they are merely hocus-pocus masking the subtlest kinds of instruments for the perpetuation of backwardness and exploitation.

And so on. Now, of course, there is nothing original in this diatribe. The dullest *apparatchiki* have been saying this for decades. Mr. Gerassi, in his studied ignorance of nearly everything, believes the speech to be an "accomplished document."

And what of his political thought? I do not find a discussion of whether Guevara developed guerrilla warfare theory or not very stimulating. However, there is one small contribution to

political philosophy expressed in the following *cheista* metaphor:

Fidel's particular mode of integration with the people can only be appreciated by seeing him in action. In the big public meetings one can observe something like the dialogue of two tuning forks whose vibrations summon forth new vibrations each in the other. Fidel and the mass begin to vibrate in a dialogue of growing intensity which reaches its culminating point in an abrupt ending crowned by our victorious battle cry.

Dr. Goebbels, a radical himself, would be pressed to offer a better description of the mechanics of the *Führerprinzip*.

But does anyone in America take this seriously? The Macmillan Company must think so. Our procedural fascists certainly do—Mr. Gerassi and his ilk—for example. I suspect that some of our guerrillas dream of being *fidelistas*, and thus able to address the masses in the nation's plazas—ending their five-hour speeches, no doubt, with a "victorious battle cry." But young men donning guerrilla suits and playing out their fantasies perhaps are not to be feared—for the moment. Yet would anyone claim Fidel Castro and Company are or ever were operating in the real world? Furthermore, while Anglo-Saxon America may prove immune, what of the rest of the hemisphere?

Cheismo is no isolated phenomenon there, no matter how exotic it may appear to the outsider. Latin American intellectual history is littered with potty socio-economic philosophies fully as removed from reality as *cheismo*. But the *pensador*, no matter how ill-grounded in, say, classical economics, much less natural science or post-scholastic philosophy, is still vastly respected in Latin America. And it is the younger crop especially, raised on a mish-mash of utopian socialism, primitive Leninism and bad poetry, that may well represent the wave of the future which not only will destroy hope for viable political institutions, but will delay any chance for rapid economic growth. But to the budding intellectuals, Che Guevara is something fresh, daring, romantic, profound. They seem thoroughly unaware that Jacobin stupidity is nothing new.

One more aspect of Guevara need be considered. In all that prose, there is not a single hint of wit or humor. It is as plodding and pedestrian as the best work of J. V. Stalin. (There were, of course, ostensibly free intellectuals

who grew hoarse shouting the literary merits of that particular "greatest genius of the era" too.) In fact, exactly one joke is extant in his *oeuvre*. We quote it in its entirety as a public service:

A few days ago, in one of the unfortunately frequent meetings we have still not been able to rule out, one of our comrades told the latest joke . . . which referred to the party's constitution. It was about a man who was going to join the party and was told by the section members that he had to work overtime, set an example, utilize the hours of the day to further his education, do volunteer work Sundays, volunteer for work every day, forget all vanities, devote his time to working, and participate in all existing organizations of the masses. He was told finally: "And, besides, you must at all times be ready to give your life for the Revolution. Are you ready?"

The man replied: "All right; if I am going to lead the life you say, what do I want it for? I'll be glad to give it."

Wait a minute folks, don't start smiling. Why? Because Che did not find this amusing. Did he even crack a smile? No, he did not. In his leaden way, Guevara tagged this feeble effort at humor in grimly revolutionary Cuba as "profoundly counter-revolutionary in spirit"—which all goes to show that Marxist-Leninists, no matter what the particular sect, are the gloomiest of ideological Neanderthals. □

Science, Politics and Gnosticism

By Eric Voegelin *Regnery, \$1.95*

A FURTHER CRITIQUE OF GNOSTICISM

ELLIS SANDOZ

The present volume contains English translations of Professor Voegelin's inaugural lecture at the University of Munich, *Wissenschaft, Politik Und Gnosis* and an essay entitled *Ersatz Religion* here reprinted from the journal *Politeia*. A three-page "Foreword to the American Edition" has been supplied by Voegelin, and the translator has given citations in appropriate English translations of works originally cited from sources in other languages. Professor William J. Fitzpatrick's translation is sound, lucid, and generally

precise. It provides the English reader with accurate versions of the original works. It can only be regretted that the English edition follows the German model in omitting an index.

Science, Politics and Gnosticism supplements and amplifies the argument of *The New Science of Politics* (University of Chicago Press, 1952) that "gnosticism is the nature of modernity." It pays brief attention to the scholarly context of the analysis by indicating the tradition of inquiry leading up to the first half of the nineteenth century, upon which Voegelin's effort is based, and points to the scholars who renewed interest in gnosticism in a sustained way, beginning especially in the 1930s with Hans Jonas and Hans Urs von Balthazar and coming down to Norman Cohn in the 1960s. Voegelin views his own efforts to re-establish the philosophical science of politics as a part of "a new interpretation of European intellectual history and of modern politics" which is so revolutionary as possibly to cause "future historians [to] date the spiritual and intellectual regeneration of the West from this flowering of science" to which we are witnesses. The contours of the new philosophical science of politics being created by Voegelin and other contemporary scholars can be viewed in some detail in the more recent German work, *Anamnesis* (Munich, Piper Verlag, 1966).

IN THE ESSAY which occupies the bulk of the little volume before us, and which has given it its name, science, politics and gnosticism are studied through the technique of "illustrative analysis" of the work of Marx, Comte, Nietzsche, Heidegger, and of Hegel who is "the greatest of the speculation gnostics." The thread of the inquiry unwinds from the initial linking of ancient and modern gnosis as showing certain common characteristics which, on the one hand, distinguish gnosis from science and philosophy and, on the other hand, identify them with *doxa* (opinion as defined by Plato), magic and ideology.

The principal characteristics shared by ancient and modern gnosticism are 1) their rejection of the world as alien, evil and ordered by demonic divinities and forces and 2) their proclamation of a mode of deliverance or salvation from the prison of the world for man through a secret *gnosis* (knowledge)

both of man's present condition and of a transforming truth possessed by a small elite. Corollary to the first characteristic is the necessity to destroy by all means the order of the world in both its personal and social configurations—everything from God to the railway systems, as Belinsky once remarked. This destructiveness manifests itself in such contradictory ways as personal libertinism and asceticism, as well as through the consistent inversion of good and evil, to climax in the murder of God (“the decapitation of being”), which is, knowingly, also the murder of man. Corollary to the second characteristic is the obliteration of common sense and traditionally preserved philosophical and religious insights by the proclamation of a doctrine which justifies itself precisely *because* of its absurdity—because “‘it contradicts all the tangible aspects of practical life’” (Marx, quoted by Voegelin).

Through a consideration of such phenomena in modern “philosophy” as the prohibition against the asking of questions, the employment of the system as the only acceptable thought form, and the murder of God, Voegelin sketches a convincing critique of principal contributions to the mainstream of modern thought as vitiated, “gnostic” and even corrupt. So far from acknowledging the “givenness” of the structure of being and seeking to explore it philosophically as the “loving endeavor” whereby man perceives its order and “attunes himself to it,” the modern pseudo-philosopher (= ideologue, gnostic intellectual) “desires dominion over being; in order to seize control of being, the gnostic constructs his system. The building of a system is a gnostic form of reasoning, not a philosophical one.”

Therewith is the protection against asking questions secured: the premises of the system must not be explored; reality is viewed solely through the internally homogeneous terms of the construct itself. This procedure diabolically serves to obscure the transcendent ground of being and enforce occlusion of the soul. The humility of the philosopher, which operates in the Socratic-Platonic awareness of the infinite chasm that separates human Knowledge from divine Truth (*Phaedrus*, 278d), is swept away by the murderous arrogance of the gnostic intellectual who possesses himself of the Truth of a second reality of his own contrivance and employs every means to coerce all mankind into



confessing it—even when he himself knows it to be a lie.

ERSATZ RELIGION elaborates material for the most part treated more briefly in chapters four through six of *The New Science of Politics*. It brings valuable additional insights, such as the analysis of faith, however, and was originally published soon after Voegelin's return to Europe, apparently primarily to introduce certain of his leading theses in political science to the German scholarly community.

In sum, it can be said that *Science, Politics and Gnosticism* is a brilliant further work by the leading political scientist and thinker of our time. The essays are tersely, incisively and authoritatively written. Whether the reader always agrees or not, he cannot fail to be impressed. And if this results in renewed meditation on the problems raised and a search for truth, then the teacher's objective to assist the opening of the soul will have been attained. □

ART

A VARIETY OF HIGH TRADITIONS

RUTH BERENSON

This fall, a galaxy of art exhibitions from Europe, Asia and Peru visited New York, and each one turned out to be a unique, never-to-be-forgotten event. Perhaps New York gallery-goers had earned a respite from last year's seemingly endless expanses of nearly

blank canvases (so-called “minimal painting”) and the shoddy obscenities of pop art; perhaps their eyes deserved a rest from the flashing of electronically programmed “light shows” and the jiggling of kinetic sculpture. And perhaps they also needed, first and foremost, to realize, if they had not done so before, what great art with a great tradition can be.

The season opened with a bang when the Metropolitan Museum unveiled “The Great Age of Fresco—Giotto to Pontormo.” Seventy masterpieces had been lent by the Italian government as a gesture of thanks for American help in rescuing the works of art from the disastrous Florentine floods of 1966. Frescoes are the symphonies of the Italian Renaissance, while the panel paintings should rather be thought of as chamber music. However, Italian frescoes were painted in a technique which makes them literally part of the walls of the dimly-lit churches, town halls and tabernacles where they are found. Until relatively recently, it was not possible to detach them, and one had to go to Italy to see them. Even the ones in this exhibition, after traveling to London and Amsterdam, will be put back in their original settings and will not be moved again.

The Met's beautifully lighted installation recapitulated the entire history of Italian painting from its still-Gothic beginnings to the end of the Renaissance in the sixteenth century. What a revelation it was to have, for the first time, a close-up view of all the vivid details and of the brilliant colors which glowed as if they had been painted yesterday. Of even greater excitement

to scholars as well as to the general public were the *sinopie*—the free-hand preparatory drawings which lay underneath many of the earlier frescoes when the latter were peeled from their walls, and whose existence, until then, had not been suspected. These rough sketches, which the artists used to guide themselves in executing the finished work, often possess a freedom of concept and a spontaneity of line which makes them seem somehow modern; this lends them a special appeal to today's audiences, for whom a drawing, no matter how incomplete, often seems to reflect more of an artist's personality than a final painting.

ONLY a few weeks later, the Metropolitan's uptown branch, the Cloisters, which is devoted exclusively to the art of the Middle Ages, unwrapped a superb display of "Medieval Objects from American Private Collections" (to February 1). It is well worth the journey uptown, if only for the stained glass. This is ingeniously installed in the French Gothic cloister and includes two precious fragments from the twelfth century, when the colors, especially the blues, were even more intense than those of the succeeding era. Equally outstanding are the enamels, some of which glow with the radiance of peacock feathers; the illuminated manuscripts; and a Romanesque stone head of the late twelfth century, probably from Southern France.

From the other side of the world, Asia House produced a fascinating display of the bronze vessels made by Chinese artists during the prehistoric Shang Dynasty (ca. 1523 B.C.-1300 B.C.) and that of Chou (1300-249 B.C.). The technical mastery of the casting of these mysterious objects, whose ritual use remains obscure, is as noteworthy as the elaboration of their decoration and the vivid jade-green patina which they have acquired as a result of centuries of burial. There is nothing primitive about even the earliest of them; they are as accomplished and sophisticated as anything produced in Egypt at the same time, if not more so. The variety of their shapes, sometimes gracefully curved, sometimes spiked, is striking, and even more so is the symmetrical complexity of their decoration—heraldic dragons, snarling tiger masks, bird forms—with empty spaces often filled with a calligraphy of zig-zags, spirals or meanders. Some of the designs are rendered in high relief; others are incised into the metal,

or inlaid with gold and silver which gleams brilliantly against the patinated surface.

MASTERCRAFTSMEN from Ancient Peru," offered by the Guggenheim Museum (to January 11), in a welcome departure from its usual preoccupation with twentieth-century art, seems no less culturally distant to North Americans than the Chinese bronzes. Frank Lloyd Wright's winding ramp, which has frequently proved so awkward for display purposes, provides an admirable setting for the chronological arrangement of the ceramics, textiles and carved wooden objects which, with a few pieces of gold, silverwork and stone sculpture, make up the show. The earliest of these gifted Peruvians lived about the same time as the makers of the Chinese bronzes; the last disappeared with the brutal conquest of Pizarro over a thousand years later, which cut off the flowering civilization of the Incas in its prime.

The ceramics, in glazes of cream, reddish brown and black, are usually hollow vessels with one or more drinking spouts. During some periods, they were amazingly realistic, modeled in human or animal shapes; some were certainly portraits from life—old women, young girls, warriors, prisoners of war, blind beggars. During other times, more familiarly shaped bowls are covered with bird and animal motifs, sometimes so stylized as to seem pure abstractions. The textiles, miraculously preserved by the warm dry climate of southern Peru where they were found, are in a rainbow-range of colors; the complexity and refinement of spinning of the threads and their weaving rival the finest lace-making of Europe.

Two other showings rounded out 1968's tribute to the artistic past. At Wildenstein's could be seen "Gods and Heroes: Baroque Images of Antiquity," an apt subject for a benefit in aid of the Harvard-Cornell excavations at the classical site of Sardis, which surveyed, through little-known but finely chosen examples of classical themes, the achievements of seventeenth-century European painting. And at the equally prestigious gallery of Knoedler, French bronzes from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century gave the public a rewarding chance to become acquainted with a so-called "minor" art which, till now, has attracted only specialists.

Much time may pass before New

Yorkers again have so many unlooked-for opportunities to renew their understanding of the enrichment which the past can bring to the present. To this writer, it seemed encouraging that all these shows attracted crowds of young people—the generation which, we are told, bases its faith in the future on the repudiation of all that has been achieved before. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE SECRETS. *Volume One: The Other Statue*, by Edward Gorey. (Simon and Schuster, \$3.00). At Backwater Hall in Mortshire, the Marquess of Wherewithal is crushed by a falling statue during the annual charity fête. Other disasters occur. "At the buffet Miss Quartermourning lost a slice of cucumber from her sandwich." Most portentous of all, "Augustus woke up to find his stuffed twisby was missing." Thirty pictures packed with horrid innuendo, thirty captions coming to your mind's ear in the dead, grey hiss that is the aural equivalent to Gorey's gothic line—and the dread Something that is the secret of it all stays well out of reach. In succeeding volumes—but they have not yet appeared. Better pick up this one now before the Gorey collectors (they are legion) have drained the market. Then you will know what a twisby is. Then you will be ready.

A. CROCE

GAMBLING SECRETS OF NICK THE GREEK, by Ted Thackrey, Jr. (Rand McNally, \$5.95). Nick the Greek was a gambler who won big (over \$500,000,000 in his life), lost big (near, but under, \$500,000,000), and loved the action—not the money. For Nick, men with character weren't those who didn't gamble, they were the ones who gambled and won. Nick's belief was that, while probability assures the house will win in the long run, in the short run there are cycles of good and bad luck and, by betting heavily on the good cycles and lightly on the bad ones, a player can win substantially. Nick delineates the probability factors in the casino games, poker, proposition bets, and horse betting ("It helps to be drunk"). In connection with probability an unexpected and delightfully innocent appearance is made in the book by Albert Einstein whom Nick introduced to his gambling friends as, "Little Al from Princeton—controls a lot of the action around Jersey." But the final secret is the man's, not the gambler's. To be a winner is not to draw from the anecdotes Nick's methods, which truly were few, but to emulate the man. And that, *mirabile dictu*, has little to do with gambling.

T. CRAWFORD

THE SALZBURG CONNECTION, by Helen MacInnes (Harcourt, \$5.95). In the long

ago, before Ian Fleming's sex'n'sadists and John Le Carré's weary professionals took over the espionage field, a young English woman carved herself out a following in the field with *Above Suspicion*, a book about two innocents from Oxford who were involved by British Intelligence in an anti-Hitler caper. The formula, a quarter of a century later, remains much the same, a couple of non-professionals inveigled into taking a hand from—hold your breath—patriotic motives with the good guys against the bad, the adventure taking place in some attractive foreign part—Venice, Delphi, in this case Salzburg. In the waning days of World War II, the Nazis sank a chest containing the names of important collaborators into a remote Austrian lake and set up a ring of fanatic agents to guard it—shades of the Rheingold. Twenty years later, it is brought to the surface and everyone wants it: the Nazis, the KGB, Peking, and of course the Austrian, British and American secret services. Into the churning situation walk a young American lawyer and an attractive publisher's representative (female) and, after assorted kidnappings, murders and associated skullduggeries, the compromising papers end in the right hands. A warning: Helen MacInnes demands a lot of her readers these days—her plots are intricately woven—so read with attention. The slightest lapse may cost you the clue that should tell you at the very end on whose side the key character is.

P. L. BUCKLEY

THE TOLKIEN RELATION, by William Ready (*Regnery*, \$3.95). When he was librarian at Marquette, the author of this obnoxious book (subtitled *A Personal Inquiry*) was responsible for Tolkien's mss. being given to the Marquette University Library. If the book accurately represents Mr. Ready's appreciation of Tolkien, it is a little difficult to see why he bothered. I am not speaking of merely annoying errors like the reference (p. 95) to "Isildur the Elf"—though the phrasing, no less than the mistake (Isildur, though of half-eleven kin, was, like his descendant Aragorn, a man), argues an insensitivity to the Tolkienic world. The real *malaise* lies deeper, in every word where, to praise Tolkien, Mr. Ready dispraises C. S. Lewis, or Charles Williams; and deeper yet, in every word where, to praise him, he intrudes his own personality and his own reactions—not inquiring (the subtitle is a lie), but stating; not rushing in (that can be carried off) but stumping, sauntering in where greater and more perceptive critics would fear to tread. It is well to pass over Mr. Ready's own style ("that is what the bugle of the book brays"); better yet to pass over his prejudices ("the rod of the Caste system that is England's bane") which like the style are irrelevant when they are not absolutely intrusive; best of all to pass over the book entirely.

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JANUARY 14, 1969 35



AFTER THE BALL IS OVER

HERE ARE a few hints to help ease the strain of the holiday season. First things first:

Hangover cures. When you feel that you can't bear to hear another roseleaf drop, or that you are Gulliver in a land of dwarfs or a dwarf in a land of giants, or that you are made from wafer-thin spun glass, try these homely remedies, contributed to your reporter by concerned friends. Barbara Byfield: "Make a large pot of strong coffee, wrap yourself in an eiderdown and consume herring in sour cream straight from the jar. Do not change this procedure." Ruth Lundgren: "Soak a sugar cube in lemon juice. Eat and follow with a jigger of straight angostura." Bob West: "A whiff of oxygen, equal parts of beer and tomato juice dosed with Worcestershire sauce." Bob Pearsall, a hero: "More of what got you in the first place; lick it." Patricia Graves: "Vocalize loudly and drink double whisky sours." Lorraine Standen: "Lie on the floor under a wide-open window. Breathe deeply." Harold Hazelton: "Lie in dark, soundproof room. Do not fight condition; accept it as the inevitable bitterness that so often follows happiness." Myself: "Two aspirins and a glass of milk before retiring. Champagne and more champagne on arising." Readers are invited to contribute their own wholesome remedies for next year's hangover cures roundup.

Food. After the Christmas cooking bash, food that sits peacefully until needed will do wonders for a woman's disposition. Here is a recipe for a bean casserole for six, which would be good with any fresh or leftover meat, and together with a salad and a lemon or fruit dessert would make a very good supper. If there are teen-agers or very hungry people, serve a dish of green or plain rice with it. Both these recipes come from the most delightful and original cookbook of the season, *A World of Vegetable Cookery*, by Alex D. Hawkes (Simon & Schuster, \$8.95), which, as the jacket says with utter

truth, is an encyclopedic treasury of recipes, botany and lore of the vegetable kingdom, with more than 500 recipes from every corner of the globe (many with meat, poultry and seafood). I've been cooking from this book since I got it, and the food is heavenly.

Black Beans in Rum

- 1 pound dried black beans
- 1½ cups coarsely chopped onion
- 2 large cloves garlic, mashed
- 3 large stalks celery, coarsely chopped
- 1 medium carrot, scraped, chopped
- 2 tablespoons salt
- ½ teaspoon freshly ground pepper
- 2 small bay leaves
- ¼ teaspoon oregano
- 1 tablespoon minced fresh parsley
- 4 tablespoons butter
- 2 jiggers dark Jamaica rum
- 1 pint commercial sour cream, at room temperature

Pick over and rinse the beans, place them in a large kettle with cover, add water to cover, put on the lid, and bring quickly to a boil. Remove from the heat and allow to stand, covered, for an hour. Then add the onion, garlic, celery, carrot, salt, pepper, bay leaves, oregano, and parsley, cook covered over medium heat, adding water as needed, until the beans are nearly tender. Correct seasonings and remove bay leaves. Turn the beans out into a casserole, add the butter and one jigger of rum, mixing thoroughly. Cover and bake in preheated 350°F oven until the beans are completely tender. Remove from oven, mix in the second jigger of rum, and top each hot serving with a goodly dollop of sour cream. (You can prebake the beans and reheat them in the oven. Mix in the second jigger of rum after reheating and just before serving.)

Green Rice

- 1 cup raw long-grain rice
- 2 tablespoons light olive oil
- 2 tablespoons butter
- 1 cup finely chopped scallions, with tops
- 1½ cups finely chopped raw spinach

- ½ cup finely chopped parsley
- 2 cups hot, rich chicken stock
- 1 teaspoon salt
- ¼ teaspoon white pepper
- 1 cup freshly grated Parmesan cheese (optional)

In a heavy skillet, heat oil and butter and sauté the scallions, stirring often, for five minutes. Add the spinach and parsley and continue to cook for about one minute. Stir in the rice, mixing well, then add chicken stock, salt, and white pepper. Turn into a two-quart casserole, cover, and bake in preheated 350°F oven until the rice is tender and has absorbed the liquid, usually about 30 minutes. Toss lightly with a fork and serve each portion, if desired, with a light sprinkling of the fresh-grated cheese. Serves four to six.

Mother Hazelton's Tart Lemon Pudding

- 3 large or 4 small eggs, separated
- ½ cup sugar
- 1 tablespoon grated lemon rind
- ½ cup strained fresh lemon juice
- 1 tablespoon (1 envelope) unflavored gelatin
- ¼ cup water
- 2 cups heavy cream, whipped
- candied violets (imported from France, at gourmet stores)

Beat the egg yolks until very light. The longer you beat, the lighter, so use an electric beater, preferably. Beat in the sugar, one tablespoon at a time, beating well after each addition. Beat five minutes longer for the best results. Stir in grated lemon rind and lemon juice. Soften the gelatin in the cold water and dissolve it over hot water. Beat it into the egg mixture, and blend thoroughly. Chill until the mixture begins to thicken and looks like thick unbeaten egg white. Fold in the whipped cream. Beat the egg whites until stiff and fold them into the mixture. Turn into a pretty serving dish and chill until set, about four hours. Decorate with candied violets. Serves six; can be made a day or two ahead and kept refrigerated in a tightly covered bowl. □

TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS

- A. Salvation; conversion of paper money into specie
- B. A peninsula in South-east Asia
- C. An abnormal tendency to undress
- D. Type of law that fills entire libraries
- E. What a barren woman is
- F. Most inquisitive
- G. Where the country will go to if the opposing candidate wins
- H. A ruminant of Europe and Asia
- I. A book of the Old Testament with but one chapter
- J. An instrument panel in an automobile
- K. Not combed
- L. A citizen of a certain country in South America

WORDS

32 216 25 50 185 65 95 104 139 143

35 62 74 86 91 128 107 59 111

45 149 3 40 154 67 167 217 204

89 98 125 44 129 144 29 8 199

96 24 63 70 121 136 150 172 12 28
81 191 197

105 68 47 10 76 170 200

127 171 11 151 187 206 218

133 13 78 85 113 120 145

4 7 23 38 54 77 1

147 46 55 106 152 180 190 92 103

181 69 119 162 186 131 48

51 49 14 39 132 114 158

DEFINITIONS

- M. First name of a president, U.S.A.
- N. Compensation
- O. Too stern, cruel, austere
- P. What an American writer of historical novels and a British prime minister were
- K. A stuffed toy named after WORD M
- R. What this time of year is for baseball players
- S. Complete or total
- T. What Holmes and Watson shared
- U. An evergreen ash tree (Scand. mythology)
- V. Slang term for certain U.S. Army officers
- W. Where the boys often gathered in the good old days
- X. A town in England where a battle was fought in 1265
- Y. Predecessor of one of the few remaining monarchs

WORDS

66 52 135 146 116 88 163 122

79 15 210 31 110 115 118 134 142 60
94 178 184 219 223

20 30 43 53 75 82 90 6 16

87 157 221 93 80 195 213 207 173

156 202 169 21 33 99 214 208 188

160 220 71 83 5 222 124 97 215

175 148 56 168 138 72 159 189

196 17 101 166 109 140 174 193

100 112 182 176 164 192 141 126 117

108 42 58 34 64 137 155 203 9 18

123 41 57 130 161 198 209 19 27 61
211 2

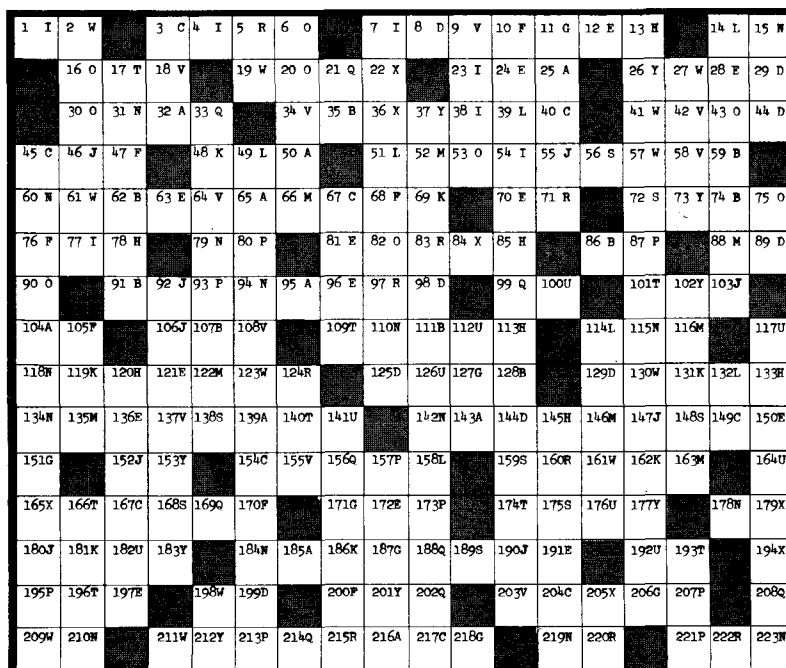
165 36 84 22 179 205 194

153 73 177 183 37 201 212 26 102

See page 38 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, blank boxes indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.



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**SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S
TRANS-O-GRAM (DECEMBER 31)**
[Ann Hawkes] HUTTON,
[George] WASHINGTON
CROSSED HERE:

Christmas Day, 1776, dawned.
. . . Washington . . . found time
to write ". . . It is in vain to rumi-
nate upon or even reflect upon
the authors or causes of our pres-
ent misfortunes; we should rather
exert ourselves to look forward
with hopes that some lucky
chance may yet turn up in our
favor."

WILLIAMS

(cont. from p. 26)

tests were rejected by the Department of State. The Department noted that these agreements "not being treaties in the constitutional sense, and hence not requiring the concurrence of the Senate," but having been negotiated under legislative authority only, "terminated" when later legislation "changed the bases on which the agreements were negotiated." (The relevant legislation comprised the Tariff Acts of 1890, 1897 and 1909.)

President Lincoln unilaterally gave notice of termination of the Rush-Bagot agreement—apparently so as to deal with raids being made by Confederate sympathizers from Canada—but changed his mind and withdrew the notice. President Harding—on the advice of his Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes—declared the Lansing-Ishii agreement as not "anything more than a declaration of Executive policy." President Theodore Roosevelt referred to his Santo Domingo agreement as "a direction of the Chief Executive, which would lapse when that particular Executive left office."

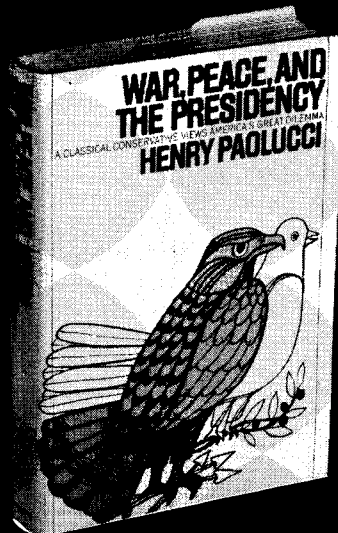
In 1940 President Franklin Roosevelt agreed with Great Britain to exchange a number of "over-age" destroyers for naval and air bases in British posses-

sions not far from the United States. He had approval neither from the Congress as a whole nor from the Senate. Then Attorney General Robert Jackson sustained the President's power to engage in this transaction on the ground that it entailed "no express or implied promises on the part of the United States to be performed in the future."

In short, the executive agreement has been traditionally regarded as terminable at will, if not by the President who made it or the Congress which authorized it, certainly by their successors. That such is also the view of the Soviet Union has been suggested by Khrushchev himself. Khrushchev took the trouble to make a broadcast saying that when President Johnson "took over, [he] assured us that he would stick to the promises made by President Kennedy with regard to Cuba."

This article is, of course, strictly limited to the legal question and does not attempt to discuss policy. Despite his dissatisfaction with President Kennedy's negotiations in 1962, Mr. Nixon, when he becomes President, may think that the dangers in any attempt to change the status quo are not worth the risk. Again, he may not. As a matter of our Constitution, laws and tradition, he may adopt such policy as he sees fit. □

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The Brownsville Affair

On The Right

New York, Dec. 31—The other day I showed a member of the admissions committee of a famous Eastern college an article published by the indignant editors of Choate Preparatory School, which is where JFK went to school need we say more. The piece was called "How Can One Tell?" and it gave the academic and extra-curricular profiles of a dozen students together with the colleges for which they had applied, and the colleges' response. The point of the exposé was to demonstrate that, in fact, you Cannot Tell. That is to say, that it does not follow from superior grades and superior achievement in extra-curricular activities that you will make it into the college of your choice.

The perfect score in verbal aptitude in the college tests is 800, and I spotted one gentleman in the Choate demonstration who had scored a subnormal 475 and was way down in his class, but had nevertheless been admitted to Harvard University. Now—I asked the Dean's assistant—just how do you account for that? Oh, he replied, almost certainly a Negro.

I RAISE THE POINT because we have in the past period come slowly to realizing that the old anti-discrimination doctrines are insufficient. It is not a discovery to say that we must in fact encourage a pro-Negro discrimination—Mr. Garry Wills was making that argument as long ago as 1965 in the pages of *NATIONAL REVIEW*; and quite recently Daniel Patrick Moynihan made the argument in the *Atlantic Monthly*. The point needs to be carefully made and understood primarily for the reason that those who tend to make it, tend to be immune from the practical consequences of it.

Garry Wills is a doctored classicist in a major university and a journalist whose talents are rated very high in the free marketplace—he is not going to be edged out of anything. Patrick Moynihan, the indomitable Democrat, has just now been hired by Richard Nixon away from MIT, and that shows how desirable his talents are. The demand for my own services is not on the one hand exactly inflexible, on the other

hand I am not likely to be summarily replaced by an editor or columnist merely because he is a Negro. What one needs to consider is the individual who stands to suffer. Not only the student at Choate with much the higher verbal score, and much higher standing in his class, who after all stands to suffer a fate no worse than a college slightly less distinguished than the one he sought access to: but the butcher and the candlestick maker for whom, under tight competitive situations, it means that if they yield their places to a Negro, they lose their jobs.

I suspect that this is behind much of the bitterness in the New York teachers strike. It is a strike which may go down as the most complicated in history, but certainly one of the causes of it—is the feeling by white teachers that Negro teachers are being advanced without regard to the common criteria for advancement.

"Discrimination against teachers by reason of a white skin is no more defensible than discrimination against blacks," writes the eminent Mr. Eugene Lyons adding: "What's wrong with a teachers' concern for his 'job security'? Particularly in the light of massive violations of teachers' tenure without pretense of due process?"

Mr. Lyons has isolated perhaps the crucial point, which sheds light not only on the school strike in New York but on the future of the black power movement in America. It is this: the white community must protect those of its members who are dispossessed by black competitors favored precisely because of their race. It may not be an obligation of Harvard or Yale or Columbia to place qualified white applicants who are turned aside in order to favor black applicants—there are opportunities aplenty for these rejects. But in such cases as New York's, it surely was somebody's responsibility to find jobs for the 87 white teachers summarily dismissed at Ocean Hill-Brownsville by the Negro superintendents without just cause. It is one thing to justify the assumption of power by Negro managers, another to be indifferent to the plight of the victims of their arbi-

trary decisions. It is one thing (and in my judgment, subject to certain safeguards, the right thing) to turn over to black administrators the responsibilities of education in black areas, another to neglect the casualties of their ethnocentric hiring policies.

The first duty of New York City, as of other cities, is to provide for those who are dislocated. Assuming that we approve of discriminatory hiring in favor of blacks (as I do); we must acknowledge the concomitant obligation to protect the whites whose jobs are taken. Are there then no limits that should be imposed on the new black administrators? □

THE BROWNSVILLE AFFAIR—II

New York, Jan. 2
—Granted that a city encouraging the decentraliza-

tion of its schools so as to secure black control of black schools should look after teachers who are arbitrarily relieved of their teaching duties. To say as much is to concede that the new black superintendents will dispose of the power to fire whom they like. Should they have the power to hire whom they like? The struggle in New York focuses essentially on that question. It is hard to give a persuasive answer, hard to draw an exactly plausible line. Herewith some thoughts on the matter:

Q. Should Negro administrators be permitted to hire teachers irrespective of state licensing requirements?

A. Irrespective of some state licensing requirements, yes. Such requirements as specify, for instance, residence at teachers colleges should be waived. Others that require some evidence of proficiency in the subjects to be taught, obviously should not. However, the superintendent and the board of the appropriate unit should be given the power to waive any requirement in any individual case.

Q. What if the administrators of a black school hired a teacher who taught hatred for white people, or for white officials, or policemen?

A. The teaching of race hatred should not be permitted. A useful definition of what ought not to be permitted

is embodied in the UN's Genocide Convention. A teacher judged guilty of teaching such doctrines should be suspended for a period of, say, three years.

Q. What about ideological indoctrination? What if the teacher preaches the thought of Mao Tse-tung, or advances the principles of Karl Marx. Should that be tolerated?

A. My inclination would be to say yes: tolerate it, say over a period of two or three years. Such toleration would be an act of faith in the strategic good sense of the Negro community. During that trial period, arrangements should be made to protect the minority which desires to go to a different school because of the parents' opposition to the indicated school. If after a few years it becomes manifest that the black community as a whole does not bother to control the schools, that in fact they are conscript to an ideological clique, then the only answer is to move massively to recapture the schools. But until it is so proven, it would appear wise to make the experiment.

Q. How can you talk about "making the experiment" when conceivably it is at the expense of ruining the minds of young children?

A. In the first place, the minds, qua minds, are being ruined anyway, by inadequate education. In the second place, it isn't only in black schools at Brownsville-Ocean Hill that you run the danger of ideological indoctrination. You get "i.i." in schools throughout the country. At Princeton University, more members of the faculty registered a preference for Dick Gregory for President over Richard Nixon for President. It is not as though one were threatening what was heretofore a well-balanced civic situation. At Harlem they have had centrally administered public schools for years, and for years they have had Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

Q. But aren't you making recommendations which are in a sense racist?

A. Yes, but only in the sense that reverse discrimination is racist. It is apparent that the black community desires the exercise of power. Now in order to exercise power, it becomes necessary to permit black people to assume positions for which they are not qualified by conventional standards. That is no different from what the white colleges are doing when they lower their standards in order to admit Negro freshmen ahead of others who are better qualified academically. To appoint a black teacher because he is black is racist, granted. But we have reached a point in race relations where it becomes desirable to act consciously in such a way as to accede to such demands of the Negro community as are in the least way plausible. Negro

control over the education of Negro children would appear to be one of these defensible objectives.

Q. Do you then assume that only black teachers would be hired?

A. No. In Brownsville, for instance, the majority of the teachers were white even under the rump regime of Mr. McCoy. What seemed to make the difference was that those particular teachers were hired by the black administrators. It is the authority that they seem to desire: that is the crucial point.

Q. And how can one prevent the minority of fanatical blacks from taking over?

A. How does one prevent the minority of fanatical whites from taking over? By periodic elections, overseen by the courts. □

BLACK FACULTY?

New York, Dec. 26— Further on the overwhelming subject of race, the question arises: if it is right to indulge in a reverse discrimination so as to permit students who are not competitively qualified to get into first-rate colleges, shouldn't we then permit Negro teachers who are unqualified by residential standards to take up portfolios as teachers of history, and English, and so on? It would appear to follow, which is why it is so very important to distinguish between sensible indulgence and self-defeating travesty.



I have here a letter from a professor of classics in a venerable small university in the Midwest recently rocked by the demands of the militants. But listen as he describes the forlorn resources of the administrators of his college, up against the consolidated pressures of the adamant minority. "It is obviously impossible," he observes, "to keep up a state of siege forever with a determined adversary and untold numbers of sympathizers inside the citadel. Hence piecemeal capitulation, black studies, etc., the president [of the university] apparently looking for a settlement with minimum actual damage."

My friend recognizes strategic power relationships. "My own guess is that the demands, e.g. for black faculty, are not really substantive but are merely items on a list drawn up to test the pliability of the authorities; if so, then receiving those demands will not appease the insurgents but merely rein-

force their hope of getting Everything, i.e., total command of the institution.

"Here, our president, not simply employing platitude as a short-cut from point to point but actually swimming in it with great sighs of satisfaction like a wasp in honey, has been laying it down to the faculty, off the record, that Black Faculty are to be hired. Sociology has been instructed that it is a department marked for trouble unless it complies. . . . Funds can be squeezed or withdrawn. Chairmen can be replaced. The president has made, it is clear, a foggy commitment to the blacks, which he regards as moral and equivalent to progress, and expects us to work out the details of honoring it."

So much for power, and the effective uses thereof. It is an imprudent assumption that community administrators, nudged by student power, will yield control only over such situations as students might logically lay claim to an inherent sovereignty over, for instance, the preference of breakfast foods. It goes much further, as the professor points out, advancing: "Two observations. 1) On the president's observation that the University does not sufficiently represent the structure of society (meaning its ethnic structure), one reflects that if it were to represent, say, the intellectual structure of society, it would have no reason to exist. And 2) the point has been explicitly made without administration rebuttal, that since qualified black instructors are lacking, we shall have to take on unqualified ones. This appears not to cause scandal in the president's heart. Me, I feel as would a doorkeeper in the house of the Lord on discovering that the proprietor was converting it into a whorehouse."

THE LINE is sharply drawn, unassailably. One thing to admit black students into the pressure cooker of first-class colleges, on the assumption not that necessarily they will adapt and graduate as members of Phi Beta Kappa; but on the assumption that such shock treatment will reverberate out in the black community and help to shatter the consolidated lethargy which black and white leaders join in identifying as the principal cause of the trouble. But to install someone in, say, such a place as Harvard, and merely because he is black, qualify him as a professor of sociology—or English—or Swahili: that is the Orwellian reduction towards which not only the black militants (they would be powerless by themselves) but their white epigoni are driving the colleges (whose presidents almost to a man need great transfusions of courage from us-folks in the bleachers). □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

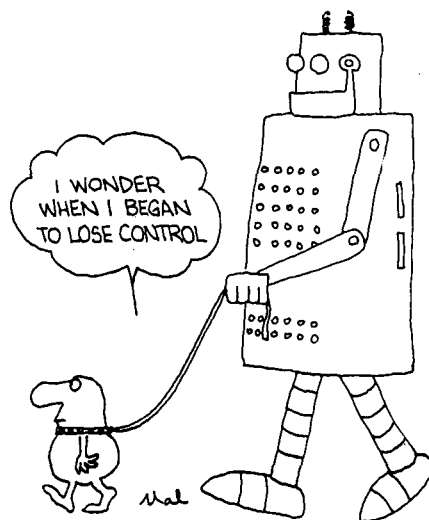
FOR THE RECORD

■ **Borman, Lovell and Anders** almost didn't make it: President **Eisenhower**, it is now revealed, planned to scrap the man-to-the-moon project in 1960 (too expensive). It was reactivated by **JFK** because of "America's competitive and expansive spirit." . . . A farmer in Colombia so entranced by the exploit that he has named his triplet sons, born Christmas eve, **Borman, Lovell and Anders Aguilar**, and will ask the astronauts to be their "spiritual godfathers." . . . **James Mangan**, the pr man who formally claimed space about ten years ago, has sent the astronauts passports authorizing them to "trespass on my domain."

■ On the airline front: France, it turns out, owned 30 per cent of the **Middle East Airlines** that lost eight planes in the Israeli commando raid in Beirut; U.S. companies own 55 per cent of **Lebanese International Airways** which lost three planes. . . . International Pilots Association, meeting in Helsinki last week, taking dim view of all this; calling for stricter enforcement of international laws. . . . **Mexico** has a new law on the books providing a twenty-year sentence for skyjackers. . . . **Angola** is giving its pilots and crews lessons in karate and judo. . . . 'Tain't funny, McGee: an Eastern Airlines passenger boarding at Philadelphia for Tampa Christmas eve with wife and child made the mistake of asking the captain: "Is this plane going to Cuba?" He was hustled off and his fare refunded.

■ **Inaugural Committee** can't find anyone who will write riot insurance for them. Day is expected to cost \$2.3 million which usually is raised by sale of tickets to balls and to bleachers, but riots threatened by New Left could cancel these out (\$2.3 million figure is \$700,000 over cost of last Johnson

inaugural). . . . **Wallace** campaign, according to his staff, cost about \$9 million and will come out in black. . . . **Martin Peretz**, the Harvard instructor who has bankrolled just about everything left of left this year, is ponying up the money for six-month operation to gather all the material from the **Eugene McCarthy** campaign. . . . McCarthy, incidentally, just made it into Gallup rundown of ten most highly esteemed men in the world. He was number ten. First, the perennial **Ike**, second **LBJ**. **Nixon** placed fifth and **Humphrey** sixth. . . . A West German popularity poll named **John F. Kennedy** as the most admired statesman of the century; he placed second behind **Konrad Adenauer** as the most "provocative" statesman of the last fifty years.



■ Justice Department has named **Robert Lowell, Dwight Macdonald, Paul Goodman, Arthur Waskow, Noam Chomsky** and **Ashley Montagu** as "members of the same conspiracy against the draft" that resulted in prison sentences against **Benjamin Spock** and Co., but has made no move to indict. . . . Red-lining

Guardian blasted **Norman Thomas** for "shunning class conflict in favor of the electoral process" and for having after 1948 "drifted off into twenty years of increasing irrelevance; in 1968 he campaigned for Lyndon Johnson."

■ **John Lindsay** indicating he will run again for mayor this year and not wait for senatorial try in 1970. The reason he refused appointment to **Bobby Kennedy's** seat when it was offered him, says hizzoner, was that he thought "it would be a bit of a cop-out." If he didn't take it when offered, why should he go for it now, he says. . . . In that senatorial race, probably: former New York mayor **Robert Wagner**, who says he is "not uninterested." Wagner is now ambassador to Spain. . . . In California, former Republican Senator **Thomas Kuchel** indicating he may run against **George Murphy** in '70.

■ Getting set in the Orient: Philippine President **Marcos** says Asian nations in future must take more responsibility for maintaining peace in their own sphere. . . . Prime Minister **Thanom Kittikachorn** of Thailand reports new flareup of Communist guerrilla activity two miles from Bangkok; says infiltrators were trained by North Vietnam and the Communist Pathet Lao. . . . Prince **Norodom Sihanouk** evidently feels it's all over in Vietnam; says U.S. must accept the responsibility for resettling South Vietnamese refugees, possibly in Hawaii or Alaska.

■ Marshal **Ky**, when asked to sign "Face the Nation" guest book, noted that name preceding was **Clark Clifford's**, severe critic of **Ky** in recent days. He thought a moment, then scratched in the initials **DMZ** (Demilitarized Zone) between the two names.

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